NEW MASSES

JUNE 15, 1943 15¢ In Canada 20¢

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WE THANK YOU

Dear Reader:

We believe that the greatest days in the history of New Masses are before us. Today we are in the midst of the biggest battles for national unity that will guarantee victory, and a peaceful, harmonious post-war world. New Masses has an important job in those battles and we know you, our readers, will be on deck for the fighting, as you have been in the past.

For these reasons we want to thank you for your cooperation in the financial drive which closes in these pages this week. You have sent the magazine $30,000. True, we didn't reach the goal of $40,000 which is imperative for NM to see the year through. But we are confident it will be reached. We shall continue the campaign outside these pages, through personal solicitation, through the arrangement of NM parties, and whatever other means are necessary. For we must have that additional $10,000 to meet our obligations for 1943. And we have many big projects ahead which should not be hamstrung for lack of funds.

Some of our new readers may have asked why NM must hold these annual financial drives. For their benefit it might be well to recount some facts many of you know. Because of NM's nature, advertising has never been a major factor in our income. We derive a certain income from that source, but many concerns which advertise elsewhere refuse our publication. Some day they will see things differently, but that day isn't here yet. For this reason a publication like ours of necessity incurs an annual deficit. That totaled $40,000 this year, after we had cut the budget to the bone; operated with a smaller staff than ever before; used less engravings and cheaper ones at that. We did everything possible to guarantee that NM weathers all financial storms, despite the steeply increased costs of publication. Thus we have been able to continue. And our readers, themselves people of modest means and harder hit this year by necessarily high taxes due to the war, saw to it that NM went on.

In closing this drive we urge the following:

1. **That all readers who have not yet sent NM their annual contribution, please do so by return mail. (Use the coupon on page 27.)**
2. **That all who cannot send funds today, pledge amounts that they will send later this year. We want to have a fair idea of what more can be expected in 1943. In general we want to be able to plan ahead, to know what to expect from our readers.**
3. **That our readers use the summer months to hold parties for their magazine. Remember that we are still $10,000 behind the necessary goal—and that we have many editorial projects in mind to meet the heightened demands of this time.**
4. **That you also turn your attention to making every friend of yours a subscriber to NM. If every reader sent in one subscription each, we would never be in fear of the creditors and we could, in the near future, see the year through without the need of an annual financial campaign in these pages.**

So we thank you again for what you have done—done to keep our magazine going, and in helping prepare it for the bigger days ahead.

JOSEPH NORTH,
For the editors.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Which Way Argentina?

WHEN the deposed President of Argentina, Ramon Castillo, lined up his country with the Axis under the guise of a "neutrality" policy he not only isolated that nation from her twenty sister republics of the Western Hemisphere. He also isolated his government from the Argentinian people. His foreign policy became increasingly unpopular, distinguished as it was by refusal to adhere to the recommendations of the 1942 Rio Conference, by openly friendly relations with Germany, Italy, and Japan, and by protection of an elaborate system of fascist espionage and propaganda. And its unpopularity led to more and more repression at home as the voices of the overwhelming majority of the people sought expression. The Castillo clique soon lost any claim it may have had to a political base in the electorate; in order to keep itself in power and loyally serve the Hitler master; it turned to fascist reaction in domestic as well as in foreign affairs.

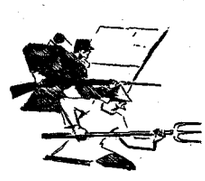
It was not surprising, therefore, that the overthrow of Castillo and his fascist crew should have proved so easy. The new governing group, however, does not differ in any fundamental respect from the old. It is dominated by reactionary military men whose political policies are decidedly hostile to the deepest desires of the Argentinian people. Its statement on foregn relations is vague, to say the least. It voices an intention to cooperate with the countries of the hemisphere. But the composition of the Cabinet is such that improved relations with the twenty sister republics and with the countries fighting the Axis are hardly likely. One may judge the character of these palace revolutionaries by their diktat to disband the Argentinian Congress without any promise to hold elections in the immediate future. Their suppression of the anti-fascist newspaper *La Hora*, and the arrest of its editors is a continuation of Castillo's political and terrorist warfare against the foremost democrats, many of whom languish behind prison bars. It seems clear from even the murky newspaper reports that the new junta acted with dispatch against Castillo to forestall a genuinely democratic purge of the evil men who have ruled the country.

The Argentinian people now have the tremendous opportunity to rid themselves of the men who have kept them in a strait-jacket. For the situation can be converted to their favor, provided the pro-fascist junta is not given the chance to consolidate itself and drive further toward the liquidation of the unity movement. Before it was padlocked for its forthright editorial denouncing the coup d'etat, *La Hora* gauged the political scene as a moment of decision for the entire nation. "Today, more urgently than yesterday even, national union is the sole road to the country's salvation. All conditions exist for the triumph of broad unity without exclusions, embracing the entire country, but the first condition is not to lose time, or reaction will win. Rapid understanding of all democratic parties is demanded, in order to mobilize the people, which does not adhere to the coup and has all the necessary energies to triumph." Expressing the highest aspirations of the Argentinian masses, *La Hora* called for formation of a government that would respect the constitution and rapidly provide for a presidential election; it asked for a break with the Axis and the "incorporation of Argentina in the United Nations front"; it demanded full liberty for the trade unions and protection of the rights of all democratic political parties; it insisted on the release of imprisoned democratic leaders and the punishment of profiteers.

Our own State Department now has an extraordinary opportunity to voice unequivocally its disapproval of this new threat to hemispheric solidarity in Buenos Aires and to give its full moral support to all of Argentina's democratic forces.

News Item: "Franco government deplores bombings as inhumane."

China's Counter-Offensive



THE rapid turn of military events in China has again focused the attention of the whole anti-Axis world upon the courage of China's de-

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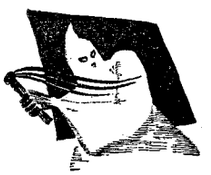
fenders. Ten days ago a large Japanese force of soldiers, tanks, guns, planes, and the river fleet were pressing hard against the western periphery of their long advance up the fertile Yangtze valley. Some Chungking officials were expressing the opinion that the long awaited drive to capture Chungking, then only 300 miles from the battle front, was under way. Today the enemy is in full retreat suffering heavy casualties; the Chinese have recaptured a number of key points and are at the gates of the important city of Ichang. News reports have hailed the Chinese counter-offensive as a major military victory for China, comparable to the historic counter-offensives that turned the Japanese back in three successive drives to capture Changsha.

Our appreciation of this great stroke of resistance is in no way diminished by the belief, expressed in these columns before, that Japan's armies at this moment are primarily engaged in fighting an economic rather than a purely military war against the Chinese. The Japanese strategy appears to be concentrated on perfecting the economic blockade of the country, on destroying China's food and industrial crops, on seizing supplies of all kinds, on ravaging the people and their land. This does not mean that fairly large scale military clashes do not take place; on the contrary, the Japanese pay a high price in terms of casualties in men and materiel, but a price which in their opinion is smaller than would result from a direct mixing with the large armies of our ally.

THE events of recent weeks along the Hupeh-Hunan border, therefore, add up to an economic victory for the Japanese in laying waste a large tract of China's rice bowl and a military victory for the Chinese in inflicting important casualties upon the invader as he retreated from the devastated countryside in far greater haste and confusion than he had intended. While rejoicing in China's military victory we cannot afford to be complacent regarding any blows at China's already deteriorated economy. The crying need is for sufficient aid to our Far Eastern ally to enable her not only to inflict military defeats on the enemy, but to prevent the Japanese from carrying through these costly raids upon her livelihood. That some progress in supplying this aid is being made is indicated by the prominent part played in the recent battles by the joint Chinese-American air force. While the major part of the job of cutting down the enemy must be credited to China's land troops, the role of the air force in bombing Japanese concentrations and lines of communications was far more important than heretofore. The further, rapid strengthening of that air force is one way of protecting China while Hitler is being crushed by the land invasion of Europe.

KKK in Detroit



THE failure of large sections of industry, certain elements in organized labor, and the administration itself to ensure enforcement of Executive Order 8802, establishing the Fair Employment Practice Committee, has all too often left the initiative in the hands of disrupters. This seems to be exactly the case in the deplorable strike last week at the Packard plant in Detroit. The plant has gained a nationwide reputation for production; its labor-management committee is far ahead of others in the Detroit area. Yet even there discrimination has been practiced against the equal advancement of Negro workers, of whom there are some 3,000 in the plant. Last week's walk-out started as a protest against the company's failure to upgrade three Negroes. Against the advice of their own leaders and the union's win-the-war leadership, these 3,000 Negro workers abandoned their jobs. Subsequently there was a walk-out of approximately 20,000 white workers. Blame for this specific situation largely rests with certain officials of the Packard company and with subversive Ku Klux Klan elements in the Packard plant who have seized upon every opportunity to disrupt the war program. These fifth column activities, which have been permitted to saturate Detroit and against which the timid Mr. Biddle has not raised his little finger, provide a fertile atmosphere for the generation of conflict. R. J. Thomas, president of the United Auto Workers-CIO, stated he had "absolute evidence" that the Packard strike had been instigated "by the Ku Klux Klan or its successor body in Detroit."

THE opening session of the Midwest Conference on Problems of the War and the Negro People, organized by the National Negro Congress, was held in Detroit just as the walkout at Packard was getting under way. And the War Emergency Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People took place as the strike was nearing its close. Both these conferences vigorously asserted the need to end all discriminatory practices as a means of strengthening the war effort. At the first conference 300 delegates from six midwestern states unanimously called for "unity within the ranks of labor" and voiced their "unqualified opposition" to all divisive influences.

This resolution, aimed directly at the divisive tactics of John L. Lewis and his imitators in other unions, formed part of a program adopted by the Conference which called for: immediate opening of a western land front in Europe; elimination of Jim-Crow practices in the armed forces; Senate passage of the Anti-Poll Tax Bill; enactment of federal anti-lynching legislation; democratic interpretations of Negro life via school text books, radio, stage, and screen; enforcement of President Roosevelt's seven-point economic stabilization program; organization and full, unrestricted participation of Negro workers in the trade union movement. The vigorous carrying out of this program would be the best insurance against such disruption as that at Packard.

Silence "The Man"

SENATOR BILBO, the noise from Mississippi, acted as mouthpiece for the poll-taxers and defeatists in the shameless Senate filibuster of last session which thwarted poll-tax repeal. "The Man" threatens to repeat his windy performance this term. He has the lung power and the indecent eagerness for the job. If, however, the anti-poll tax legislation just passed by the House is presented to the Senate without delay, any filibuster will so clearly interfere with the prosecution of the war that even "The Man" will find the going tough.

It is imperative that overwhelming pressure be brought on the Senate Judiciary Committee to discharge the House bill at once, particularly since there is an excellent prospect that the majority of the Committee can be persuaded to take favorable action. The sooner the Senate as a whole is called upon to act, the surer the poll tax shame will be quickly ended. Loss of time means that consideration of the bill is left until the session draws to a close. This is the last desperate hope of the filibusterers. No doubt, the defenders of Jim Crow and discrimination will attempt to amend the anti-poll tax bill out of existence. Such tactics were roundly beaten in the House and can again be defeated in the Senate, especially if administration leaders speak up as they are pledged to do. What has plunged "The Man" and his allies into a panic is the very real knowledge that the poll tax cannot survive a loud, united, passionate demand by the people for repeal *now*.

Spreading the Security

THERE is new strength for the home front in the bill to enlarge the social security program—a measure introduced by Senators Wagner of New York and Murray of Montana and Representative Dingell of Michigan. This bill is both a weapon of war and a foundation for the future peace. Hewing close to the recent recommendations of the

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National Resources Planning Board and the Social Security Board, the measure proposes to extend social security benefits to about 15,000,000 persons not now included—farm workers, domestic servants, employes of non-profit institutions, and self-employed farmers, small business and professional people; to increase both unemployment and old age benefits and to unify the entire social insurance system; to provide insurance for temporary and permanent disability; and to set up medical and hospital insurance covering all workers and their families. The bill would also apply to all men in the armed forces whether or not they have made any previous payments under the Social Security Act.

Both the AFL and the CIO are strongly behind this measure and have urged its immediate enactment. It is to be hoped that the administration will not, out of mistaken notions of expediency, uphold the bill in principle and do nothing about it in practice. It is perhaps unfortunate that the legislation is being described as designed for *postwar* social security. This may provide congressional defeatists and reactionaries with a pretext for putting it in cold storage on the ground that other matters are more urgent. While it is true that the unemployment insurance provisions of the bill chiefly concern the postwar era, since unemployment is not a serious problem today, the establishment of a system of medical and hospital insurance is immediately necessary as a direct aid to war production and national morale.

ANOTHER virtue of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill is that it would enable the government to raise about one-fourth of the $16,000,000,000 in additional taxes which President Roosevelt has requested. However, the specific financing proposals leave something to be desired. At the present time employers contribute four percent of payrolls to the social security funds and workers contribute one percent. Under the new bill each group would pay six percent. In other words, while employers would have their contributions increased fifty percent, workers would be required to pay 500 percent more. Particularly at a time when a disproportionate share of the tax burden is already being borne by the low-income groups, such a steep increase in social security payments by workers would throw our tax structure even further out of line. With corporation net profits in 1942 more than eighty percent higher than in 1939, there is no reason why employers cannot contribute nine or ten percent of the total.

No differences about details, however, should be allowed to stand in the way of a united and vigorous effort to secure the speedy enactment of this farsighted legislation.

French Renaissance

WHATEVER other disputes still remain, the birth of French unity at Algiers is a magnificent event. Its political reverberations have already seeped into the motherland. The Vichy cabal lives in dread of its impending doom. Those around Petain scurry back and forth engaged in political maneuvers by which they hope to save their dirty necks. Marcel Deat, the Nazi-loving editor of "L'Oeuvre," has suggested in an article that Laval be given the sack in order to pave the way for negotiations with the newly established Committee of Liberation. But it will all be in vain, for at long last, after three tragic and bleak years, millions of Frenchmen have set the course for a national renaissance in which their betrayers can occupy only one place—the graveyard.

Progressive Americans may well rejoice in the union of de Gaulle and Giraud. It represents a major triumph for the thousands in this country who would not believe that a policy of expediency—the polite term which camouflaged acts of compromise with the enemies of France—led to unconditional victory. Their pressure on the State Department, the vigorous editorials that criticized relations with Darlan and his retinue, the strong protests that came from little people everywhere helped to reduce the barrier of official prejudice that stood between ourselves and the real France. For it was the real France that official snobbery would not countenance. De Gaulle was looked upon as the representative of a splinter movement comprised of personalities suspected for their political views; much was made in inner circles of De Gaulle's stubbornness, his refusal to yield to the most "reasonable" demands. What was completely disregarded was that the leadership of the Fighting French was stubborn and persistent because it spoke with the support of the best organized and most powerful anti-Hitler groups in France. And as recent reports have also revealed, the popularity of the Fighting French is as much a fact in North Africa as it is in the metropolitan area. Fortunately the course of military events coupled with a forthright public opinion has in this instance effectively curbed aspects of American foreign policy incompatible with the waging of a people's war.

Europe itself will more than rejoice in the union of de Gaulle and Giraud. Its significance will be evaluated by all the underground groups and committees of resistance. They will see in it the need for evet closer unity as the prime political setting in which their oppressors can be brought to defeat. They will also see in it a belated though considerable victory over the political locusts swarming in London and Washington who would devour the democracy so heroically cultivated in the mountains and forests of Europe. The Otto Hapsburgs, the Sikorskis, the Tibor Eckhards have been dealt a hard blow by the developments at Algiers. All the ordinary people of the captive nations will recognize that French unity has helped them by eliminating in part the enigmas of American and British diplomacy which so severely distressed them. And they will fight all the harder knowing that their friends abroad are contributing a large measure of strength to make their battles fruitful. In particular it will mean a good deal to the national front guiding the Yugoslav partisans—whose struggle against the fascists is even more advanced than the French one—for it raises high the hope that the Mikhailovich coterie will be recognized as an enemy no different from the Vichyites.

French unity, then, speeds not only the day of France's liberation but it also augurs well for the reconstruction of a Europe without any of the impediments which have brought it to disaster in the past. It is important also that once again France as a nation will play the role of an equal in the coalition of democratic powers. Her armies in North Africa have proven themselves an effective fighting force, and with the Liberation Committee inspiring their action in the field they will become even stronger. The French underground, through the Council of Resistance, has already outlined its plans for attack when the Allies move onto the Continent. Every assistance is being prepared. "Nevertheless," as Fernand Grenier, the French Communist leader, indicated in NEW MASSES last week, "it is necessary to hasten the invasion before Germany finds the time to deport all able-bodied Frenchmen beyond the Rhine." French unity, therefore, will have its greatest value as soon as it can be translated into a coordinated assault across the Channel into France itself.

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Round Tables and Food

For all the fury generated by the newspaper men who somehow confused their functions with those of the delegates, the food and agriculture conference at Hot Springs came to a close in an atmosphere of good neighborliness. It has already been remarked that the meeting would be a test of whether large and small powers with divergent internal economies and therefore with divergent problems could work in harmony. That test has been passed successfully by the forty-five representatives of more than a 1,500,000,000 peoples. It was the first time during the course of the war that initial steps were taken for collective security against want and hunger. The delegates clearly delineated the interdependence of consumer and producer; from the outset they underscored the fact that more food must be made available to fulfill the requirements of good health; they recognized that adequate diets did not exist for millions who lived in the midst of plenty; they emphasized that it was an international obligation to see to it that those countries that were not self-sustaining had the necessary international exchange to pay for imports of food; many of them spoke out against the insane tariffs and price mechanisms which perpetuated an economy of scarcity. With these larger objectives in mind the conference authorized the establishment in Washington of an interim commission to implement its findings and pave the way for a permanent organization.

Meanwhile, there is a war to be won before some of these postwar projects can become operative. There is the immediate need to relieve the food shortages which our Allied armies face and which seriously endanger their effectiveness as fighting machines. The Soviet delegates, for example, while most cooperative in defining long range food and agricultural policies, reiterated that their forces on the Eastern Front and the impoverished populations of the newly liberated areas need large stocks of food "in order to defeat Hitlerite Germany and to win the war." Our Washington editor, Bruce Minton, pointed out in these pages last week that all food planning runs

John L. Lewis' War of Nerves

John L. Lewis' announcement that his calling off of the coal strike is merely another "truce" till June 20 once more demonstrates that this would-be fuehrer of American labor, who has just been fulsomely eulogized by Hitler's *Voelkischer Beobachter*, will stop at nothing to gain his ends. There can be no compromise with this war of nerves. Before June 20, if no settlement of the differences between coal miners and operators has been reached, the government must act to prevent any further sabotage.

From the standpoint of the country and the mine workers, Lewis' second coal strike was disastrous. But from the standpoint of Lewis himself, the strike brought certain compensations. It interfered with war production. It allowed him to prove his loyalty to the defeatists and to those Republicans who support a negotiated peace and the appeasement of Hoover, Taft, Vandenberg, Landon, and Ham Fish. For Lewis must be credited with putting over the union-busting Smith-Connally bill in the House. In addition, he weakened the fight against inflation. He seriously delayed efforts to get on with the war. His actions will result in the deaths of more young Americans than could be accounted for by a wolf-pack of Nazi submarines or a division of Axis troops.

Lewis has indulged in a good deal of self-righteous posturing. He has talked of his devotion to the rank-and-file miners, but his actions during the mine "truce" belied his words. He refused, with the eager collaboration of the mine operators, to push for settlement of the miners' demands during the period of the "truce." Instead, he blocked negotiations, turned his back on the War Labor Board's every effort to settle the dispute equitably, while he carefully perfected plans to violate labor's no-strike agreement once again, and by so doing to endanger the security of the labor movement.

His timing is worth consideration. He ordered the second strike just as the Smith-Connally bill reached the House floor, and called off the strike the moment the bill was passed. Thereby, Lewis advanced his plot against both the CIO and AFL. Thereby, he made his "contribution" to the Hoover-Taft scheme to throw the domestic economy into confusion, from which reaction hopes to "rescue" it with a negotiated peace, a sellout to the enemy. At the time of Munich, Daladier played chorus to Chamberlain. Now Lewis is Daladier to Hoover and his friends.

Though the House passed the legislation Rep. Howard Smith has been trying to slip through for years, it can still be stopped in the Senate or, if that fails, by mobilizing proper support behind the presidential veto. President Roosevelt and the heads of key government agencies have expressed opposition to this war-wrecking bill.

It must also be recognized that Lewis has been able to seduce a large number of coal miners only because they have justified grievances which he has pretended to support. Apart from the wage question, the principal source of these grievances is the continued failure to keep living costs within bounds. At the White House meeting of Labor's Victory Board, Presidents Murray and Green stressed that the anti-inflation program was being undermined by OPA Director Prentiss Brown's vacillations and by the concerted attack of reactionaries in Congress, in the Republican Party, and from inside the OPA itself. The refusal so far to grant subsidies to make possible the roll-back of prices plays into the hands of Lewis and his masters. Lewis has made much of the high cost of living while deliberately spurring inflation. He has gambled on smashing OPA, hoping for uncontrolled inflation which will debauch the economy. The real weapon against Lewis is to push prices back to the levels of September 1942.

Lewis has done his best to wreck and divide. His entry into the AFL would give him another and greater opportunity to scuttle organized labor. The President stressed this point when he met the labor representatives, and added his wish—which is the wish of the win-the-war groups everywhere—for unity between the AFL and CIO. Lewis cannot survive such unity, or the resultant isolation which it would impose on him.

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the risk of becoming visionary unless it is considered in the framework of a growing national and international food crisis. In our own country the congressional farm bloc is the key culprit. This united group of barefoot boys has placed every barrier possible in the way of expanding agricultural production. And on an international scale, programs as worked out by the American and British members of the Combined Food Board have been haphazard in character because of insufficient knowledge of food resources or needs. The Board has yet to include our other allies in its undertakings and until that is done the Board will not begin to cope realistically with the immense problems before it.

Concerning the Comintern

SOME recent discussion of the proposed dissolution of the Communist International points up a danger: that some commentators, in the very act of welcoming this as a step toward national and international unity, may indulge in interpretations and speculations that serve the ends of disunity and conflict. A case in point is the article by Max Lerner in last week's *New Republic*. At a time when the utmost responsibility is demanded of all who seek to influence the thought and action of their fellowmen, this article displays a degree of irresponsibility which it is difficult to reconcile with Lerner's constructive approach to other questions. One discounted his editorial in *PM* immediately after the Comintern announcement as something written in haste, to be repented at leisure. This feeling was strengthened a couple of days later when Lerner struck telling blows at the Soviet-baiting of Louis Fischer in a debate with him on the Comintern dissolution. But Lerner's *New Republic* piece not only repeats but compounds all the false notes of his original *PM* editorial.

First, Lerner persists in regarding both the Communist International and the individual Communist Parties as mere creatures of the Soviet government. This is a most generous hostage to Martin Dies and the whole anti-Comintern ideology and is, to put it mildly, unworthy of a serious liberal and anti-fascist. As a student of world history Lerner knows or ought to know that the Communist International was projected *before* the Russian Revolution; it had its origin in the collapse of the Second International in World War I and the rise of dissident militant groups within the Socialist movements of all countries, including our own. Is socialist internationalism valid only so long as socialism fails to triumph in any country? That is the absurd conclusion that inevitably flows from Lerner's position. And are the policies advocated by a political organization, the Communist Party, to be judged not on the basis of whether they serve the real interests of the country in which that party functions—for instance, collective security—but on the basis of whether or not they happen to coincide with policies advocated by another government? That kind of self-defeating logic has led more than one nation to disaster.

And having reduced a great historic movement to the vulgar ideograms of an Elizabeth Dilling, it is no wonder that Lerner views the proposed dissolution of the Comintern on the same intellectual level. "I do not for a moment think they [the Soviet leaders] are giving away something for nothing," he writes. "They need our aid immediately and they are willing to pay a price for it." Lerner no doubt thinks he is speaking the hardboiled language of the *Realpolitiker*. Actually he has taken a great historic act, a momentous contribution to the common victory over the Axis, and cut it down to the moral stature of the Bowery swap shop.

MOST serious of all is what Lerner has to say about the American Communist Party. In his *PM* editorial he wrote that "the Communist Party in our own country has a chance now to become truly independent, in fact as well as in form." And he held forth the possibility of "some sort of unity among labor and progressive groups," a unity that would presumably include the Communists. Ignoring for the moment Lerner's wrong assumption that the Communist Party was previously not independent, this represents a constructive approach. In his *New Republic* article, however, he reverses himself. He announces that "the Communist Party in America is through" (shades of August-September 1939). He talks darkly about "the internal struggles for control, which have been hitherto suppressed by the Comintern." This will undoubtedly evoke a good laugh from any bona fide member of the Communist Party, such member usually being a benighted citizen who hasn't had the benefit of getting the real lowdown from Jan Valtin or Joseph Freeman.

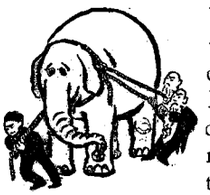
It is a pity Max Lerner, before writing these pretentious meditations, did not reread and digest the following:

"The truth is that nativism is as dangerous a movement in political thought as in political action. Jefferson himself, although he hated monarchical Europe, was a devotee of the French Revolution. Emerson and Thoreau despised a narrow nationalism and counted themselves citizens of the world.

". . . let us define 'American' broadly enough so as to include the social experience of Europe, and not make us into a closed country hostile to ideas from the outside and clinging foolishly to its own errors."

That is from an editorial in *PM* of May 31 by—Max Lerner.

Spangler's Council



HARRISON E. Spangler, the chief of staff of the Republican high command, has announced the formation of a committee of forty-nine to act as a postwar advisory council and recommend planks for next year's election platform. If ever there was any doubt that the Party's apparatus was in the hands of its most crochety tories, a quick glance at the committee's personnel will dispel any such feeling. With the minor exception of Willkie partisans, the group is heavily freighted with isolationists of the pre-Pearl Harbor vintage and with appeasers of the Robert Taft caliber. The Republican New York *Herald Tribune* politely described the senators and representatives who in part comprise the council as gentlemen who can "only see as far ahead as the ends of their noses on a very clear day." Neither Burton nor Ball is included although they were among the Republican members of the Senate team of four who sponsored the resolution on postwar international cooperation. In fact neither of them had heard of the plan to establish such a committee until they read about it in the newspapers.

Mr. Spangler's statement accompanying the appointments contains exactly ten words about the war being his first concern and then launches into one of those diatribes against the New Deal which will most assuredly be rebroadcast from Berlin. It is more than clear that the Republican rank and file who support unconditional victory and are behind the President regardless of other differences, have a fight of major proportions on their hands. The challenge thrown down to them by this latest Spangler invention is that either they completely eschew the Hoover-Taft coterie, whose interests run contrary to the nation's, or their party will be besmirched in history as having been the main vehicle for compromise peace plans and the kind of America that is hated and feared by the rest of the world.

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THE WEEK IN LONDON by CLAUDE COCKBURN

WHEN THE LABOR PARTY MEETS

London (by wireless).

THE Labor Party will meet June 14 in an atmosphere of unprecedented public excitement and interest in all those issues which are supposed especially to occupy the party itself. Yet, paradoxically, it is generally agreed that it is extremely unlikely that this conference will be capable of reflecting the real attitude of the labor movement in the form of any decisions corresponding to developments since the last conference. The most important, though not the only, case in point is the question of Communist affiliation. Few people, even in the lowest dungeons of Transport House, headquarters of the Trades Union Congress (TUC), would deny that in the minds of Labor Party members and throughout the labor movement, this question is not only urgent but has grown much simpler, much more direct, since the proposed dissolution of the Comintern and since Stalin's letter to Reuters' Moscow correspondent. Yet there is only the shadow of the outside edge of a possibility that the conference will do anything but turn down affiliation of a sizeable majority. The betting at Transport House on the day I write (June 7) was on a vote of about 1,700,000 to 600,000. And while all such calculations are still "subject to last minute revision" it's not possible to say the Transport House bet is ridiculous.

Still it would be a mistake to draw pessimistic conclusions from the vote—or from the superficial behavior of Labor Party executive officers. To begin with, a large number of unions and other organizations voting at the conference were irrevocably mandated before the announcement of the Comintern's proposed dissolution. In a somewhat significant number of cases demands for reconsideration have been made by organizations, but it is broadly true of the majority of them that to secure reversals now is impossible. This, of course, is the basic fact on which Labor Party leaders are playing. Their game—and it's a game particularly directed at America—is to pretend that the vote which was actually settled before the Comintern dissolution is in some sense the reply of the Labor Party membership to that action and to the latest proposals of unity discussions put forward by Communist Party leaders. As everyone, including the Labor Party leaders themselves, knows, this is absurdly misleading and a travesty on truth.

The fact is that, despite the rigidity imposed by the mandates, the effect of the proposed Comintern dissolution, and of subsequent developments in Britain, was to create within the Labor Party and the labor movement generally the profound belief that some move in the direction of unity has to be made.

In this connection it is important to notice that within the trade union movement, particularly during the last two years, new leaders have arisen who have the fullest confidence in the men and women of the movement, leaders who certainly were not elected by people sharing the prejudices and old fashioned notions expressed in the recent utterances of Transport House. For instance, the Amalgamated Engineering Union [machinists] have within the past eighteen months, elected two well known Communist leaders as national organizers, by unprecedented majorities. And these votes were cast by men and women who form the backbone of the war effort in aviation and other factories.

Therefore, while the vote at the Labor conference on this issue will be watched with enormous interest, it will be regarded as the beginning of a new phase in the British labor movement's history rather than—as Labor Party leaders would like—in any sense finalizing the rejection of unity. Quite the contrary. It is a virtual certainty that following the conference, whatever the vote may be, the pressure from the movement itself to bring together the Labor Party and Communist Party leaders will grow until it is irresistible. On the eve of the conference those who advocate breaking the electoral truce in Britain are in the final spurt of their activity. And it is certain that a last-minute intrigue is going on between "leftists" and reactionary leaders. While this intrigue, is unlikely to get far at the conference in terms of votes, it is significant of certain trends within the Labor Party today. All betting is in favor of a fairly heavy vote rejecting proposals to break the electoral truce. At the last minute, it seems, Sir Walter Citrine, unnecessarily agitating on subjects such as the trades disputes act [a law passed in 1927 which, among other things, prohibits civil service workers from joining the TUC], has played into the hands of those desiring to rupture the truce. It is being stated by some here that Citrine is seeking to parallel the activities of John L. Lewis.

That is probably exaggeration. It is true, however, that Citrine, TUC leaders, and the *Daily Herald* have suddenly been blowing up this issue as though it were the basis of a major political crisis. And it is also true that this issue could be quietly settled to the full satisfaction of all workers concerned without matters being forced to a point where the unity of the government is imperiled. For according to all indications, demands of post office workers and other civil servants for the right to membership in the TUC would be quietly fulfilled in the normal course of events.

PREVIEWING the conference, I may say that the following features are outstanding. It takes place at a moment when the war is reaching a new climax. It takes place to some extent under the influence of a certain complacency which swept the British labor movement first after Stalingrad, then after the first victories in North Africa—all of which created an atmosphere wherein many decisive preliminary conferences were held. Third, because of this fact, it is unlikely the conference can express the new mood of the British labor movement. Fourth, it is certain a new mood exists already in many quarters—one might cite recent articles in the *New Statesman and Nation* which previously was bitterly anti-affiliation—and that mood will express itself more vigorously in the immediate future. Fifth, the conference will produce a showdown between supporters and opponents of the electoral truce, with the

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latter probably gaining headlines while losing votes (although at this writing it is not possible to assert that they will be defeated as soundly as one might expect, since it is not known what last minute maneuver will be conducted on this issue).

All this has been seen in the light of the fact that the British Labor movement is acutely conscious of the prolonged delay in getting the Anglo-American forces into full action in the war. And simultaneously it has received an enormous dose of self-confidence from the victories of the Anglo-American armies in Tunisia. It is a curiously significant fact that even within a few days of the conference, the Labor Party rank and file still believe that it may be dominated by events occuring before then to an extent which may throw out of gear very many calculations confidently made a week ago.

WATCH ON THE POTOMAC by BRUCE MINTON

CLOSER TO PLANNING

Washington.

WHEN President Roosevelt issued his executive order creating the Office of War Mobilization, the Senate coalition which had been vigorously supporting the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill hailed OWM at a joint press conference as "a strong step in the right direction." Sen. James E. Murray of Montana went further; in a national broadcast, he called the President's action "one of the most vital and far-reaching orders issued by him since the beginning of the war." Sen. Claude Pepper of Florida and Edwin C. Johnson of Colorado also broadcast their warm approval. Labor endorsed the new approach to the war economy—more than anything else, the order represented a clear-cut victory for principles long advocated by the CIO, AFL, and Railroad Brotherhoods.

The OWM sets the stage for achieving the integration that has so far been lacking in the war effort. It establishes a basis for planning. Not surprisingly Republican reactionaries and the defeatist newspapers greeted the new agency with a cynical laugh. They sneered at what they called just another "super" board, another reshuffling of the war agencies similar to those that had gone before. But this refusal to acknowledge OWM as a forward step ignores the fact that the new agency represents a departure from former conceptions of organization. The relationship of OWM to the other war agencies is similar to the relationship of the general staff of the army: OWM has the final authority over the various agencies, and most important, it can coordinate their functions to avoid duplication, it can cut through bottlenecks, it can eliminate jurisdictional squabbles, it can reduce inefficiency. Above all, it can replace aimlessness and chaos with direction and purpose.

Up to now, the war agencies, in practice quite autonomous, have each been inclined to follow an individual course without much concern about how their functions related to the over-all economy or even whether they conflicted with and thwarted the work of some other unit. As a result, manpower mobilization programs, for example, were drafted with no knowledge of where labor was most needed or for what purpose or when; and contracts for materiel were granted without thought to available manpower or materials. Competition between war agencies resulted in every sort of disproportion dangerous to the war effort. Haphazard approaches led to unnecessary shortages of critical materials. Confusion mounted, threatening collapse of the economy if it were suddenly put to unusual strain by the exigencies of war.

CREATION of OWM is recognition by the President that a hodge-podge of agencies with a hand-to-mouth policy cannot do the job. As yet, of course, OWM remains a form, but the creation of this new form involves a principle long advocated by labor, by the win-the-war coalition in Congress, and by other progressives. The principle was first enunciated by the House Tolan committee, which investigated war production and arrived at the conclusion that the needs of all-out war cannot possibly be met by hit-or-miss improvisation. From similar evidence, independently arrived at, the Senate Truman, Murray, Kilgore, and the short-lived Pepper committees reached almost identical conclusions. The congressional committees joined together to support legislation for an Office of War Mobilization.

Organized labor backed this demand wholeheartedly. It should be noted, moreover, that the general secretary of the Communist Party, Earl Browder, anticipated and later helped popularize the conception of an integrated war economy. Browder's book, *Victory—and After*, his pamphlets, *Production for Victory*, and *Policy for Victory*, and his numerous speeches and articles effectively educated and won the support of large numbers of people for the principle of economic planning.

LESS than a week old as this is written, the OWM has not so far been given content. James Byrnes, OWM director, has still to state his conception of OWM's role. At his first press conference, Justice Byrnes said something about acting as "umpire"—which is what he did as director of Economic Stabilization, and which only succeeded in transforming that office into a court of appeals. The new OWM, in accordance with the specific definition contained within the President's order, has the job of coordinating and planning. Any attempt merely to act as referee, to adjust disputes as they arise, would defeat the President's purpose.

Justice Byrnes in the past has been all too ready to yield to big business pressure and to the importunities of special interests. He has not been above propitiating the profits-as-usual clique or reaction in Congress. But as chief of OWM, Byrnes' task is not to make everyone happy—his job is to *plan*, to evolve programs for the increase of production and the stabilization of the domestic economy, with each agency performing tasks in relation to the other agencies. The weakness of OWM as it is now constituted is the failure to include all those groups which must be involved if planning is to be successful. Production planning cannot be achieved without the fullest collaboration of labor, management, the manpower authorities, the farm organizations, and the food and agricultural administrations. The OWM six-man board lacks breadth of outlook and experience. But this can be easily corrected. A gauge of OWM's progress and its chances for fulfilling the President's order will be its attitude toward labor participation, and toward such men as the War Production Board's executive vice-chairman, Charles E. Wilson, who has accomplished so much through production scheduling.

The OWM does not completely answer

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the requirements set forth by the Tolan-Pepper-Kilgore bill. It does not, for example, transfer procurement to WPB and remove this function from control by the armed services. It does not inaugurate an office of technological mobilization. It retains dollar-a-year men in key positions. Justice Byrnes has already shown a reluctance to deal with problems of food production, or with price control and rationing. Perhaps it is too soon to demand OWM action to preserve OPA against the reactionary attack endangering its very existence. Yet Justice Byrnes' first speech as OWM director was sadly empty: true, it contained some interesting figures about production, but it was remarkably barren of any considered statement of policy. Justice Byrnes has still to say the awful word "planning."

NEVERTHELESS, what the OWM will do and how far it will fulfill its vitally important function cannot be left to chance or to the arbitrary decision of its chairman and the other five men on his board. Organized labor struggled relentlessly to win the principle recognized in the creation of OWM. Now labor has the [illegible] r obligation to help endow the [illegible]ncy with content. Pressure can now be concentrated on the War Cabinet and not dispersed in the effort to force each agency to do its job. The OWM is responsible for its subsidiaries—"IF it's in government," said Justice Byrnes, "it's in the War Mobilization Office." On OWM, the President stressed, depends the effectiveness of our military machine and our essential civilian economy as we enter a new phase of the war, the phase of the second front.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

NOT AIR POWER ALONE

THE month of May saw air activity unprecedented in this war. Certainly the Allies went to town, while the Axis air forces kept unusually quiet everywhere except for the Luftwaffe's tremendous efforts to achieve superiority at least on certain sectors of the Eastern Front.

Let us look at all these various aerial activities, each of which is distinctly different from the other.

Such activities took place over Attu, the approaches to Australia, in China, on the Eastern Front, over the Mediterranean, and finally—and most spectacular in the public mind—over Germany, especially in the Ruhr. There were days when probably 2,000-3,000 planes were in the air simultaneously over our planet. What did these planes accomplish, in the main?

On Attu the intervention of our aircraft was purely tactical and on a comparatively small scale, commensurate with the size of the operation where only a brigade of enemy troops was involved. Also, because of climatic conditions, their intervention was spasmodic. Under conditions there, our aerial power did not solve any independent problems, but probably saved us a few hundred lives. The enemy intervened in the air only weakly and unsuccessfully.

On the approaches to Australia the old and familiar game of "ironing" the semicircle of Japanese bases continued, with our aviation maintaining the upper hand.

In China our air force in conjunction with the Chinese, equipped with our planes, seems to have played the most decisive of all roles given to air power in the period of time under review. It turned the tide in the great battle of Central China and determined the greatest single defeat the Japanese have suffered during six years of war in China. This Sino-American air force intervened both strategically and tactically. It acted directly against the Japanese key bases (Yochow, Ichang, and others), disrupting the service of supply and reinforcement, wrought havoc with the Japanese lines of communications, and supported the Chinese troops in actual combat.

No doubt the Chinese victory in the Lake Region would have been impossible without the intervention of air power. On the other hand, nothing much would have happened to the Japanese if air power had acted alone. Its success was facilitated by certain factors: the Japanese bases were rather concentrated, the lines of communication ran along the Yangtze where a ship, or barge, or junk, cannot escape punishment from the air by maneuvering, and finally—the Japanese troops engaged had never yet fought an enemy who has some measure of air power, be it ever so modest. The veterans of Lake Khassan and of Nomonhan, of the battles with its Red Army in 1938-39, know something about it, of course, but they were not among these troops. It may be said that under existing conditions, air power emerged decisive, although not dominant—in contrast with the war over Europe where it is dominant, but not decisive, as I shall attempt to show later. The dominant role, of course, was that of the Chinese infantry.

On the Eastern Front air activity this late spring has risen to almost record heights. During May the Red Army destroyed a little more than 2,000 German planes and lost about 500, which is an excellent ratio against the Luftwaffe when the latter acts in force. During the first week of June the German air toll bids fair to reach the 500 mark. Whatever the intentions of the German High Command—and I, for one, still feel certain that they will do the attacking—it was the Red Air Force which started things by blanketing the immediate, intermediate, and distant rear of the German armies with a terrific barrage of tactical, operational, and strategic bombing. The "blanket" reached as far as the Danzig-Warsaw-Constanza line. Most of the railroad junctions between that line and the tactical rear were bombed. The tactical rear itself was pretty well gone over, too. It is interesting to note that the most intensive bombing made a triangular pattern with Warsaw, Nevel, and Peltava as apexes, showing that the main Soviet effort was concentrated in the enemy rear on the Central Front.

THE German retaliation, which took place at Leningrad, Kursk, Rostov, and the North Caucasus, was notoriously spasmodic. However, the effort was very great; Kursk, for instance, was raided on June 2 by 500 German planes (of which 123 were lost—a terrific price by all standards). This tremendous aerial activity on the Eastern Front is characteristically preparatory for land action, although we don't know who will start the attack. It is definitely not viewed by either side as a *res per se*, an action designed to bring victory all by itself.

In the Mediterranean our air action against the "invasion islands" is reminiscent of an artillery barrage preceding the attack. To plaster the islands solely in order to destroy the now strategically unimportant objectives of a power which is of third-rate importance, would be silly. Therefore, it is to be assumed that this is a preparatory

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barrage. The Germans seem to have withdrawn their planes from the region. Many enemy planes have been destroyed on the ground, which suggests that the Germans may have left the Italians without gasoline, or that the Italian warning system has broken down.

Thus, in the five active sectors, or fronts discussed above, air power is performing its duties in an "uncontroversial" way, i.e., in a way which leaves no doubt that the best results possible are being driven at, if not always necessarily achieved.

THE use of air power on the so-called Western Front is another matter. I have said so many times that we don't believe air power alone can win the war, or even represent the shadow of a second front, that it seems trite to repeat it. It is better to quote what the Royal Air Force iself has to say about the results of its triumphant month of May (shared to a great extent by the Eighth US Air Force). In London on June 2, according to Homer Bigart of the New York *Herald Tribune*, an RAF commentator admitted that bombing alone would not defeat Germany and that the devastation of the great industrial cities of Essen, Dortmund, Bochum, Dusseldorf, Duisburg, and Wuppertal did not portend the immediate and dramatic collapse of the Axis power. Mr. Bigart adds:

". . . it is easy to exaggerate the importance of the Ruhr. The Ruhr contains less than one-fifth of Germany's industrial capacity and only about one-third of its coal and steel output [probably about 9,000,000 tons of steel a year—Col. T.]. As the magazine *The Economist* points out, the key industries of the war effort are farther to the east—The new steel works at Salzgitter, the greatest center of tank production at Fallersleben, the chemical works at Leuna, Halle, and Leipzig, the new industrial development in Upper Silesia and Southern Poland. . . ."

Those industrial centers are located in two elliptical areas, one of them with its *foci* at Pilsen and Munich, and the other—at Frankfort-on-Main and at Wittenberg. In addition there i sthe triangular area of Warsaw-Sandomierz-Katowice. The first ellipse and the Polish triangle are not immune to bombing, but so far have been little touched, probably for good reasons. Night bombing of these areas will be more difficult during the summer because there are only about seven hours of darkness and the trip from London i sa matter of 750 to 1,000 miles one way. The Polish industrial area and the Austro-Czecho-Bavarian one are also 750 to 1,000 miles from the nearest Soviet airdromes.

Therefore it may be said with a reasonable degree of assurance that no systematic saturation bombing can be effected until fall against a part of Germany which contains four-fifths of its industrial capacity and two-thirds of its steel and coal output. This is the truth which dampens the unwarranted enthusiasm over the bombings of the Ruhr.

SO DESPITE all the reports about the effect of the bombings on German morale, production, home front, etc., I remain convinced that the "airpower alone" theory is a dangerous fallacy. The key to winning the war against Germany in the main in 1943 still is: land action against the Continent of Europe, preferably from two sides, the south and the northwest. Such land action will liquidate the U-boats by seizing their lairs, and thus insure the flow of American material to the battlefronts of Europe. At the same time it will pull the industrial teeth of Germany instead of simply "drilling" them.

And speaking of the war against the U-boats—the latter has been going much better of late, thanks to the intervention of our air power in the middle of the Atlantic where there was a gap between our air patrols from American, British, and West African shores. Now the gap is being filled by planes which fly from makeshift aircraft-carriers of a new type. These carriers accompany convoys and spot, report, and often actually sink submarines. Here is another example of the proper use of air power in conjunction with other means.

Thus we see that the only unsatisfactory use of air power is on the front which the radio and the newspapers inaccurately, and more and more frequently call the "Western Front." Tactically brilliant as are the RAF and USAF raids on Europe, the use of air power here is unsatisfactory because it represents an attempt to use that power for a purpose it cannot accomplish by itself.

"Westbrook Pegler's coming over—he has a PRICELESS plan to head off a fifth term drive!"

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MOTHER'S GONE A-WELDING

The hand that rocks the cradle also rules a machine. Eva Lapin discusses some special problems of women in war industry. Absenteeism and organized child care.

THAT old saying that "a man's work ends with the setting of the sun, but a woman's work is never done" neatly sums up one of the major problems facing women in industry today—how to spend ten hours away from home working hard at an essential war job and still take care of household duties and children. Close to sixty percent of the women proudly marching into factory gates for the first time today are married. And in addition, one out of every three or four housewives now at home will join the ranks of women workers before the end of the year.

One government official concerned with the recruitment of women in industry told me that unless we find a solution to this problem of "double duty," absenteeism among women workers will increase and the whole effort to encourage additional women to enter industry will bog down. Since the expansion of our production program and the requirements of selective service will make it more and more necessary to rely on women to do the jobs previously done by men, immediate measures are needed.

In the months after Pearl Harbor, when the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor began scurrying around to see what jobs women could fill, they had no idea of what was to come. Where there was one woman employed in aircraft at the time of Pearl Harbor, there are now forty six "angels with dirty faces," as Pacific Coast fliers call them. Women have even penetrated into the shipyards—there are now sixteen to each lone woman worker in 1940. Today, Mary Anderson, energetic director of the Women's Bureau, can proudly state: "Our industrial surveys show that no real distinction exists in war industries as to what constitutes a man's or a woman's job." It is now the usual procedure that what a woman does on the day shift, a man does on the night shift. More than eighty percent of 1,800 key processes in war industries are being handled by women. And the working woman is no longer confined to the "light, delicate" machine jobs of the early days—you will find slightly built girls operating heavy cranes, doing electric arc welding, working as ground mechanics and spray painters.

ALL this has required a change of traditional attitudes on the part of many men workers. Some machinists I've spoken to tell me that the men in their plants consider women "the gremlins" of the production line. Everything that goes wrong is blamed on "those ——— women," even where no females grace that particular department. There seems to be a need for a kindlier approach from the menfolk, especially the grizzly-haired mechanics in shipyards. Accustomed to the traditional American portrait of the little housewife in her gingham taking care of the precious children and a spotless home, it is undoubtedly a little difficult to make the transition to the woman worker in her sturdy overalls hard at work assembling a bomber. The newly installed benches and rest-rooms for women or the occasional rest periods are sometimes resented because of failure to understand that physical differences make these necessary as aids to production. And in rare instances, where the women still do not appreciate the seriousness of the work they are doing and whip out the old powder puff fifteen minutes before quitting time, the men must make allowances for feminine foibles.

Officials active in the women enrollment campaign will tell you that there is plenty of room for an educational job to be done on the women, too. They must learn to conform with factory discipline and shake off the notion that defense work is glamorous. In most cases it is dull, dirty, monotonous, and fatiguing. But the big job that has to be done is selling those women who still frown at work in industry the importance of donning a factory badge. This is particularly true in the thirty-six areas where there is an acute shortage of labor. Here women are the last remaining reserve before outside workers will have to be brought in despite already overcrowded and overtaxed facilities.

"My friends raised skeptical eyebrows when I informed them I had signed up to take the machinist's course. . . . 'What, and get all greasy?' the girls in the bridge club asked in a horrified tone." This is from a letter to a national woman's magazine from a defense worker. But it tells the story. The War Manpower Commission has conducted drives in critical areas directed solely toward recruiting women. In Detroit, 116,532 women volunteered, and the response was good in San Diego, Seattle, Bridgeport, and other cities. But even in Detroit at least another 80,000 are needed. The "career girl" magazines, like *Charm*, *Glamour*, and *Mademoiselle* have also been trying to persuade the "Kitty Foyles" that there is no stigma attached to factory work. Even Junior Leaguers are doing it these days. But the women's magazines still haven't done all they can. They are the ones that made "dishpan hands" a badge of dishonor among the nation's housewives—they ought to undo the damage now and make women, particularly those with children over fourteen, realize their place is on the assembly line.

Another 2,500,000 women must come into direct war work and essential industries by the end of 1943. This will swell the ranks of working women to 18,000,000, with more than 5,000,000 directly in war jobs. By the end of 1943, women will make up twenty-eight percent of our labor force, as compared with seventy to eighty percent in the Soviet Union. But there has been a thirty percent increase since Pearl Harbor and that is something of an achievement.

HEADING the list of obstacles to be removed from the path of women in industry is the widespread practice of paying women less than men for comparable jobs. Although it is official government policy, enunciated by the War Labor Board, to grant "equal pay for equal work," many employers are pursuing business as usual policies on this question. In a recent study of small arms plants made by the Women's Bureau, only three out of eight factories paid equal wages. In a recent War Labor Board case involving the Brown Sharpe Manufacturing Co. and the International Association of Machinists, the company generously offered to cut the wage differential between men and women down to twenty percent. The panel decision rejecting this offer stated emphatically: "There is no proof, scientific or otherwise, that women are twenty percent less capable than men all the time." One of the common arguments advanced by employers is that women do "light work" rather than the heavier jobs. The lightness of an operation has little to do with the degree of skill it requires. And, even in cases where the process is slightly changed when women take over, this is a matter of engineering efficiency and women should not be expected to bear the expense.

Since the WLB first announced the equal pay principle in the General Motors case, over 500 companies have equalized women's wages. The United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) has an equal pay clause in all contracts. And many unions are now insisting that where a woman replaces a man she receives the same wage. It doesn't help the morale of a man going into the army if he feels his wage standards are being undermined at his peacetime occupation.

In the aircraft plants where the starting rates for men and women are the same, women are kept much longer at beginner's pay than men. This brings up another problem confronting women work-

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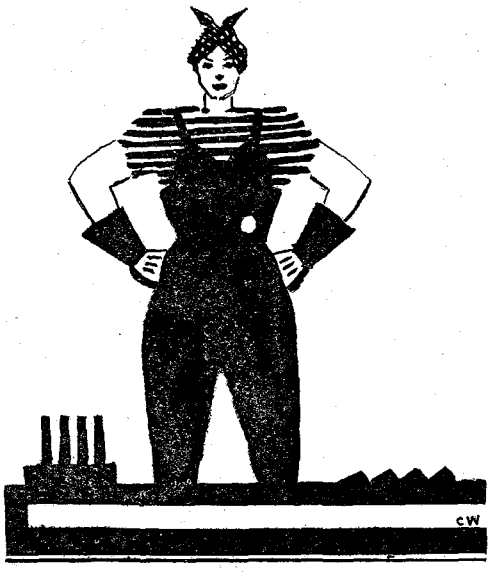
ers—the lack of advance training to give them a chance to graduate from a simple routine machine process to setting up machines themselves or even to supervisory positions. Employers use the specious excuse that "women don't like to work for other women." In a plant like the RCA factory in Harrison, Pa., where close to 70 percent of the workers are women and there is a good sprinkling of women foremen, very good working relationships exist. Two women work-simplification supervisors from this plant were among the thirty-six "bottleneck eliminators" recently honored by the War Production Board. By and large, training of women workers is coming along smoothly, both in the pre-employment courses given in vocational schools and on-the-job training, but the weak spot is upgrading and advance training in plants.

The large influx of inexperienced women workers has resulted in an astounding upward spiral of industrial accidents and illnesses. In one Wisconsin plant alone, the rate went up ninety percent from January to December 1942. If employers and plant labor-management committees were to make use of the excellent pamphlets put out by the Women's Bureau on health and safety conditions, this problem could be met. Such measures as building wooden platforms to raise machines, providing special benches so that women can sit, and adding extra guards to machinery can be adopted without too much expense. Frequent medical inspections and adequate treatment of industrial burns and exposures to harmful substances ought to be provided in all plants.

Safety precaution is largely a matter of wearing proper clothing and this is one point that needs hammering home to many women. There are reports of resistance to proper headgear, removal of jewelry, etc. The "sweater controversy" recently played up in the newspapers made good copy, but was undoubtedly greatly exaggerated. Women want to do their jobs well, but they also want to look well. There need be no real conflict between safety and morale provided the company plans its uniforms in consultation with the workers and makes them as attractive as possible. Designing an experimental uniform, having a few girls wear them for a while, and then asking the girls for suggestions seems like a smooth way to achieve the proper working clothes. It's been tried in many plants, the Women's Bureau reports, and has worked out well.

ABSENTEEISM among workers as a whole is a subject of much concern today and the problem is particularly acute among women, whose rate of absenteeism is about twice as high as that of men. The reasons are partly the same: improper working conditions, eating and housing facilities, insufficient recreation time. Inner plant conditions have much to do with causing excessive fatigue, which is one of the main reasons women take time off. The Women's Bureau advocates a five to ten minute rest period in the middle of every four hours, and points out that proper nutrition, meaning hot foods and enough time to eat, will reduce fatigue. Many plants also report that women take time off when their sweethearts or husbands come home on furlough. In Britain women are allowed to plan such leaves in advance. There is no reason why we can't do the same.

Probably the greatest factor in the higher absenteeism among women is the added responsibilities of home and children. Adequate child care is the most important problem that must be solved if sufficient women are to enter industry and if their rate of absenteeism is to be kept down to the approximate levels prevailing among men. While it is true that the War Manpower Commission and the Women's Bureau have adopted a policy of encouraging women with children under fourteen years of age to stay home, what are these women to do when economic necessity decides otherwise? Moreover, in critical areas such women may be the only remaining source of workers and it is their patriotic duty to get factory jobs. It is estimated that close to 700,000 children need care in the 108 cities in which the WMC is conducting intensive recruiting campaigns among women. So far little has been done to solve this problem. The delay in setting up nursery schools and projects for children of school age can be traced mainly to squabbling among federal agencies, plus refusal of Congress to recognize the need. Only some 980 projects taking care of about 11,000 children, are functioning under the Lanham Act. In recent weeks there has been some evidence of less friction and greater cooperation among the agencies concerned, the Office of Defense, Health, and Welfare Services, the Federal Works Agency, Office of Education, and the Children's Bureau. A little pressure on these agencies and on Congress from mothers beset with worries as to where to place their children, and from women employe counselors who say that "the child problem is the greatest a woman's counselor in a war plant must face," will help speed action. The greatest need, however, is for after-school projects for children of school age. It should be relatively simple to work out a solution in the public schools, as has been done successfully in Britain.



Even if their children are taken care of, married women workers still have to shop, cook, clean, and do laundry. Here British experience can also be fruitful for us. Women are allowed regular time off to shop, either an afternoon a week, or they can come in one or two hours later. Where there is no one at home to help with the housework, women are not assigned to night shifts. Priority certificates, which a woman worker leaves at her grocer's in the morning and picks up later in the day, enables her to get a fair share of rationed and unrationed goods. Stores are open to accommodate her, either late at night or early in the morning.

One of the best practices instituted in England is the restaurants where entire families can obtain cooked, wholesome meals at nominal cost. This eliminates the necessity for shopping, cooking, and washing dishes—one of the biggest headaches of women workers. The Congress of Women's Auxiliaries, CIO, has been trying to interest American communities in this type of communal feeding. The British also offer at such restaurants packed, precooked meals which may be taken home, if that is preferred.

ALL these problems that have come in the wake of women's employment can be solved by intelligent planning and supervision, and by greater awareness of them on the part of the federal government, local communities, and trade unions. Conferences like the one recently held in Baltimore, where the CIO brought together representatives from the community, women workers, and employers to discuss the problems of women in that booming town, are an encouraging sign. The "double duty" of women should not be shouldered by them alone. It is a community, a trade union, and an employer responsibility.

Local civilian defense organizations can help by enlisting volunteers to do shopping, laundry, and perhaps watch over the children if the parents work the night shift. Communities must see to it that stores are open late and that essential services such as doctors and dentists are also available at convenient hours. Proper housing and recreational facilities are likewise a must. American women are ready to play their part no less than their Soviet and British sisters. Our country cannot afford conditions that limit or impair their contribution in any way.

EVA LAPIN.

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PULPITS IN WAR

Dr. Harry F. Ward examines the varying degrees of unity and anti-Axis struggle on the part of the Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic churches of America.

PROTESTANTISM, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism, the three prevailing forms of religion in the United States, show quite a difference in emphasis in their attitudes toward the war. Judaism, save for a tiny handful of conscientious objectors, is united. The Synagogue Council of America, comprising Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, Rabbinical and Congregational religious bodies, recently declared that the war must be "fought to a victorious conclusion." This is a natural position for a religion which has developed as the expression of a national community in a day when that community, long since scattered abroad in the earth, sees its European section threatened with extermination by Hitler and his hordes. Equally natural is Jewish support of the Red Army to the extent of a million dollar minimum this year. This is more than a tribute to the emancipating labors and sacrifices of the Soviet forces, it is also a memorial to those thousands of Jews who now sleep in mass graves outside the Nazi occupied cities of Poland and the Ukraine. Thus does history answer the lie, spread by anti-Soviet Jews as well as anti-Soviet Christians, that Communism, Nazism, and fascism are identical in nature.

American Catholicism also officially supports our war effort. The hierarchy lost no time after Pearl Harbor in putting the church behind the government. Its committee issued a statement "for the Roman Catholic Church in America" declaring that the war must be won "not as a triumph of might but a benediction for all the world." This was followed by a letter to the President from the Roman Catholic "Bishops of the United States," in the name of the more than 20,000,000 members of their church in this country, pledging him their "wholehearted cooperation in the difficult days that lie ahead." A typical adjustment was made to the fact that an ally in the war supported by the church is the Soviet Union, against whom, from its first days, the Vatican has carried on a worldwide educational and political campaign—an adjustment contained in the declaration that the Soviet government is one thing and "atheistic Communism" another. So some Catholic priests and prelates can freely express their appreciation of the Red Army. The amount of pacifist dissent from the official Catholic position is slight, because of the authoritarian nature of the organization and because the church has for many centuries taught its members that it is right to support a just war. Significantly enough, the most vocal expression of Catholic pacifism has not been through an intellectual journal, as it is in Protestantism, but through the *Catholic Worker*.

This official support of the war is qualified in practice by two contradictions. The propaganda of Father Coughlin against the policies of the United States and in favor of those of the Axis is being carried on, more discreetly, by Father Curran and the Brooklyn *Tablet*. Obviously silenced by his superiors, after the government cracked down on his seditious *Social Justice*, Coughlin still goes untried. His roughneck, strong arm, loud mouthed Christian Fronters, with an equally dangerous fringe of Protestant fanatics, are still abroad in the land. This may or may not be the result of an understanding between church and state as to a joint procedure. In either case the situation is a serious reflection upon the ability of both to pursue wholeheartedly their professed aim of winning the war.

A STILL more serious contradiction to the national Catholic policy is the utterances of the Pope concerning a negotiated peace and neutrality toward all belligerents. These were qualified somewhat by a sentence in his Christmas message concerning war and postwar aims which says the church "does not intend to take sides for either of the particular forms in which several peoples or states try to solve the gigantic problem of domestic order or international collaboration, as long as these forms conform to the law of God." Recently a Vatican spokesman gave voice on the air to strong condemnation of the main war policies and practices of the Nazis, and thereby to the principles which produced them. In assessing the shifting emphasis in these utterances it must be remembered that here we are dealing with more than religion. The Vatican is the seat of a political as well as a religious power and the present Pope, having served long as Papal Secretary of State, is an experienced diplomat.

This body with a dual nature is not a split personality. Its right hand always knows what its left is doing; they move always in the same interest—its long time plans for religio-political dominion of the world. To that end it is always ready, like any general staff, to sacrifice a part of its forces, as it did in Spain. Having found out that it cannot come to terms with Hitler as it did with Mussolini, it now knows that its end will not be served by an Axis victory. It has known for a longer time, as its policy toward Republican Spain showed, that it also does not desire a genuinely democratic, people's victory and postwar world in which the Soviet Union plays a strong part. It is particularly interested in protecting the smaller Catholic nations from Soviet influence and tendencies. Hence its weight, which has been steadily growing at Washington because of Catholic political power in key industrial cities, will be put on the side of stalemate and appeasement, against Hitler but in favor of the potential little Hitlers in the governments-in-exile. This is a dangerous situation, because of the millions of Protestants who, without understanding the underlying politics, can be swung behind the cry for a negotiated peace on the humanitarian plea of stopping the slaughter, destruction, and starvation. This possibility places a particular responsibility upon the many Catholics in the United States who take their religion but not their politics from priest and prelate. They have to decide whether the victory their church has called for is, or is not, to be the "unconditional surrender" their government has demanded, whether it is to be the smashing of Hitler only, or also the defeat of Hitlerism.

IN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM, the largest grouping in our religious world, there is no such degree of unity on the war, officially or unofficially, as exists in either Judaism or Roman Catholicism. Neither the Federal Council of Churches which speaks for twenty-four Protestant denominations, nor the national assemblies of the largest denominations, have declared for support of the war. They have gone only as far as to approve the principles for which we are fighting and condemn those of the enemy. This is partly due to resolutions passed after the last war condemning war in general as a collective sin with others declaring that the church cannot be the voice or servant of the state in any situation, and partly to the fundamental principle of Protestantism that the individual has the right to decide his religious duty according to his own conscience. Therefore the absence of official Protestant blessing on the war effort is not a measure of Protestant support of the war. Its laity naturally makes up the majority of the armed forces and the war workers. Also it provides the majority of conscientious objectors, because of the amount of pacifist teaching given its youth since the world war and because some of the smaller sects, like the Friends and the Mennonites, make rejection of war one of their basic tenets.

A measure of the respective forces is

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the division in the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches who, like the Baptists, still value independence and local autonomy more than central government. The delegates, equally lay and ministerial, first adopted a general statement on the church and the war which did not involve any commitments, then divided in two sub-statements in one of which 135 pacifists expressed their inability to "accept the way of violence and bloodshed," and in the other 409 war supporters stated their reasons for the opposite position. Thirty-five delegates declined to vote. The Northern Baptist Convention which re-affirmed the rights of both war supporters and conscientious objectors, without separate statements, would probably show about the same division, the Presbyterian taking the same position would be likely to have more for the war, the Episcopalians still more. The Methodist Church, since the recent union of North and South the largest Protestant denomination, has not convened since Pearl Harbor. At its previous session it adopted a resolution not to put its official sanction behind a war and granting freedom of conscience and action to its ministry and membership to support, oppose, or refuse to participate in a war. The Board of Bishops happened to be in session when the news of Pearl Harbor broke. They promptly passed a resolution stating in effect that Methodists would support the government. This could not bind the church, that can only be done by its General Conference. It expressed the attitude of the bishops and what they believed would be the attitude of most Methodists.

The Protestant pulpit, through which is expressed the leadership of its ministry, who are without the authority of the Roman priesthood, is for the most part keeping off the issues of the war and dealing with general principles and "personal religion." A Gallup poll shows that this is what the great majority of churchgoers want from the pulpit. There is no such pressure upon preachers, either from the community or the government, as there was last time, because we are fighting this war with less hullabaloo and in a grimmer mood. Pearl Harbor made open opposition to the war impossible, even for the few absolutist pacifists, and left the broader anti-war group who belong to the social action wing of Protestantism hard put to it to find ground on which to stand. The journal most widely read by liberal ministers of all denominations, the *Christian Century*, is neither supporting nor opposing the war, but standing with the country "as unnecessary necessity." The emphasis of the various denominational headquarters and of the Federal Council of Churches is upon ministering to men in the armed forces, to aliens, to conscientious objectors; special work in communities near training camps and defense plants; foreign relief appeals and a study of problems involved in a postwar order that will assure a just and lasting peace.

On this subject much discussion has developed and a number of statements have been issued. The same general trends appear. In the matter of international organization the formal League of Nations pattern, with more federalism, predominates. Minority groups are emphasizing the pragmatic development of the United Nations around immediate concrete issues. There is general support for the economic collaboration envisaged in the Atlantic Charter and the lend lease agreements, for equality of access to raw materials and markets, for the ending of imperialism, for social security legislation and the effort to raise the standard of living throughout the world. Minority groups denounce monopoly control, the dominance of the profit motive and inequality of wealth and opportunity; some call for a democratically planned and planning economy directed to the realization of generally approved social values with social ownership of whatever is needed to operate it successfully.

The main body of the Protestant ministry is moving toward more positive support of the war effort. The laity is there already. At one end of the ministerial leadership is a small group of militant pacifists. A few of them who hold that to kill is an unpardonable violation of personality, and that violent resistance to evil is a still worse evil are steadily for a negotiated peace. The rest, whose general position is that war is the sum of all villainies and therefore a Christian cannot participate in it, want a Congressional Commission to continuously study the terms and condi-

Underground

REPORTS from the underground in Europe often follow a tortuous road before they reach our shores. Here is one that came from France via Mexico. It tells the story of several French war prisoners who had been interned in Nazi camps in Austria and managed to escape with the assistance of the underground.

The first story is that of a peasant from the French province of Savoie. He escaped from a camp in upper Austria. He knew a little German and for weeks he made his way through Styria, Tyrol, and Voralrberg to Switzerland. In Styria he was helped by peasants whose sons or fathers were fighting on the Eastern Front. These peasants had secret stores of food. During his underground travel to the Swiss frontier he saw copies of underground papers announcing the Allied landings in North Africa and the Red Army's victories.

The second story is that of a worker from the Paris region, Jean F—. He had been taken by the Germans in the early stages of the French campaign. He was sent to a camp and later t oan Austrian armament factory. The Austrian workers, mostly elderly men and women, talked to him, although such conversations were strictly forbidden. One day the Gestapo arrested several of the Austrians for communicating with the Frenchman and from then on special guards were placed inside the factory. Nevertheless, the foreman of the group in which Jean F— worked, managed to pass a note to him telling him that he would not be abandoned. Pretending to give him some work instructions, the foreman informed him that he could escape by using a certain door which led to the street. He was also told that he would find civilian clothes ready for him in a toilet somewhere in the building. The escape was completely successful.

The third story is that of a French student from the region of Montpellier. This student was in a war prisoners' camp in Carinthia. He worked as a member of a road gang improving a highway leading to Yugoslavia. One day a soldier of the guard—an Austrian, judging from his dialect—told the student to collect his valuables and hold himself in readiness, inasmuch as "travel possibilities" might develop at any moment. It turned out that the soldier was right. Slovenian partisans from the border region raided the highway, ambushing a German supply column. During the attack many war prisoners escaped. The student joined the Slovenian partisans and after a few weeks was honorably discharged because of serious physical ailments. The partisans gave him provisions and placed him in contact with Austrian underground workers. He was passed on from one group to the other until he reached the Swiss border safely.

These three stories of the Frenchmen who escaped with the help of Austrians appeared in a French underground paper, a copy of which made its way in a freighter destined for Spain and then Mexico. The stories appeared under the heading, "Humming the Marseillaise," because the author of the first report related that he was once helped by an Austrian peasant after he had slowly hummed a few bars of the French national anthem.

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tions of peace, and watch for prospects for it, reporting to the nation from time to time. They support the democratic struggle on the home front and want a welfare, not an exploiting, economy. Opposite them is a group of equally militant anti-pacifists, who have been carrying on this crusade from the first days of the war as part of their broader purpose to get us into it as soon as possible in order to save "Christianity and civilization." They are now trying to get Protestant political action in favor of the democratic and economic principles of the Atlantic Charter at home and abroad. In both efforts they tend to defeat themselves. In the first because pacifism, being an emotional choice of values, is only hardened, not changed, by argument. It can only be altered by the pressure of events and their correct interpretation in relation to human progress. The second effort becomes self defeating because while its leaders are for collaboration with the Soviet Union, both now and in the postwar world, they are anti-Communist on the home front and thereby deliver themselves into the hands of Dies and those he represents at home and abroad, whom they are trying to defeat.

IN BETWEEN these extremes the majority of Christian ministers, varying in different sections, more in the Middle West than in the South or on the Atlantic seaboard, are against war in general on the twofold ground of the Christian ethic and social consequences. They are the product of the long anti-war movement in evangelical Christianity and the disillusionment which followed the last war and the part the pulpit played in it. All of them are internationalists, not isolationists, though some of them, being babes in the woods of politics, were deceived by America First and can again be deceived by the appeasers. Many of this group knew, like most anti-war secularists, that a war of national defense, a war against imperialist or fascist oppression had to be fought and won. They supported Spain, they supported China, and they support the Allies. Others, held by past utterances based on convictions that were too abstract, cannot bring themselves to do more than support the democratic and economic aspects of the struggle. Still others, realizing that a world which the Axis dominated would be unendurable, yet unable to trust the Anglo-American leadership or the strength of the peoples' forces among the Allies, remain tortured in indecision. Looking at this scene, one of the anti-pacifist group recently described the position of American Protestantism as "moral hopelessness." It is rather moral confusion, with the danger of becoming moral impotence and the possibility of becoming moral certainty concerning the issues involved in the war and the actions that need to be taken.

The moral confusion roots in intellectual confusion at two points. The fact that war is a relic of barbarism, increasingly destructive to civilization, whose abolition must be accomplished if human progress is to continue, is distorted into the fallacy that no good thing can be secured by war. Peace is viewed as an abstract, static goal instead of a situation that is moving either toward or away from war. These confusions are not to be removed by argument but by action to meet situations and achieve desired ends which can be met and achieved in no other way. On this basis the voluntary groups which exist in nine Protestant denominations for the social interpretation and expression of Christianity, and are coordinated for joint effort in the United Christian Council for Democracy, are carrying on a vigorous campaign to draw anti-war ministers into action on the home front, particularly at the points where war policies are already shaping the form of the postwar world. Except for the absolute pacifists, the realization that the postwar world cannot be won for the democratic forces unless the war is won should develop into support of all that needs to be done for the defeat of both Hitler and Hitlerism.

The other side of this whole question is what the war is doing to our organized religion. On that only a brief word can here be said. The war is one incident in the struggle which accompanies the passing of the capitalist period of history, and no religion which does not interpret the moral issues involved in that struggle to the people and aid them in securing a better order of society can have any influence in the new era. In time of upheaval in the social structure the forms of religion get changed along with all other institutions of society. Also religion develops new characteristics. The significant fact is that the center of spiritual gravity is now outside the churches. Social forces are at work pushing mankind up to a new level of life, draining the swamps, raising the valleys. They will go on working, despite the ecclesiasts, with or without the support of the preachers. In the actual struggles in which they fashion a new order of living the people will come to see more clearly, and to express in higher form, the values in life and the universe which our existing religions at their best have sought to express.

HARRY F. WARD.

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ATLANTIC CHARTER AND THE USSR

The principle of self-determination as observed by the Soviet Union. Alter Brody exposes the demagogy of those who dispute the validity of the Soviet's present borders.

When the Soviet Union announced the rupture of relations with the Polish government over the question of the USSR's western boundaries a good many Americans were taken by surprise. They were inclined to look upon the boundary disputes as merely a case of divergent interpretations of the principles of the Atlantic Charter accepted by all the United Nations. In this assumption they were reinforced by the form in which the controversy was cloaked. The Polish government and emigre factions of the old Baltic states invoked the Charter and the principles of self-determination to prevent the reunion of "Eastern Poland," Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania with the Soviet Union. On the other hand the USSR also invoked the Charter and the principles of self-determination for its White Russian and Ukrainian brothers of "Eastern Poland" and for the legally conducted plebiscites by which the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian peoples self-determined themselves back into the Soviet Union. But it takes only a modicum of realistic reflection and analysis to realize that there are other things involved in the controversy in addition to the Atlantic Charter and the principles of self-determination.

In practice the Charter and its principles have been subject to considerable interpretation during the conduct of the war and will doubtless be subject to considerable interpretation during the conduct of the peace. Thus at the very time the Atlantic Charter was signed, the State Department was assuring the Vichy government, a puppet of the Axis, that the United States had no intention of breaking up the French colonial empire. Accordingly though the French African Empire is now in Allied hands, no plebiscites such as were held in "Eastern Poland" and the Baltic states shortly after Soviet occupation, have been held or are even contemplated to permit the Arab, Berber, and Negro peoples who form ninety-five percent of the population to self-determine their own fate. Nor is the British empire on the auction block of self-determination as Mr. Churchill, one of the original signers of the Atlantic Charter, made very clear. Since some circles are capable of such charitable interpretations of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and self-determination, it is possible that there may be other motives among them for the continued support of the emigre factions of the old Baltic state governments and the backing of Polish claims to Western White Russia and Western Ukraine. And by this time everyone should have sufficient respect for the astuteness of Soviet diplomacy to realize that it is not unaware of these motives and is reacting against the use of the principles of self-determination as a weapon against the Soviet Union. It is important to remember that the Soviet Union suffered a traumatic injury at birth in the name of self-determination and that lovely phrase coming from the lips of hidebound tories and misguided liberals in the western democracies has sinister historical echoes in Russian ears—echoes that go all the way back to Brest-Litovsk.

The treaty of Brest-Litovsk has gone down in history as the most ruthless "peace" imposed by a conqueror in modern times. By the terms of Brest-Litovsk the Soviet Republic, which is a free federation of all the emancipated peoples of the former Russian empire, was forced to surrender the territories of Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and what later became part of Poland, and to recognize the "independence" of the Ukraine. It meant the loss of more than one-fourth of Soviet territory in Europe (600,000 square miles), one-third (55,000,000) of its total population, and more than three-fourths of its industrial resources. Fifteen years later when Hitler began his demagogic campaign against the "injustices of Versailles," the most effective argument that liberals could put up in answer to Hitler was to point to the far more crushing Brest-Litovsk treaty as an example of the kind of terms that Germany would have imposed on the Allies had she been the victor.

But though people have been quick to remind a Nazi Germany crying about "the injustices of Versailles" of the greater injustices of Brest-Litovsk, there is one thing that has been forgotten. It is that the Allies, by the terms of the armistice of Nov. 11, 1918, took over for themselves the crushing mortgage which German militarism secured on the political and economic life of the Soviet peoples. As Article 12 of the Armistice terms ingeniously stipulates, "German troops are to evacuate all territories which were formerly a part of the Russian empire *as soon as the Allies shall consider this desirable, having regard to the interior conditions of those territories.*" (My italics.) In less diplomatic language the German troops were not to evacuate these territories until they were replaced by Allied armies of occupation or the armies of Allied puppet governments that were to be created in that area.

For two bloody years, from 1918-20, the Soviets struggled against the new Brest-Litovsk which Allied intervention sought to impose on them. Fearing an ultimate union of the revolutionary Russian and German proletariats, the Allies planned to create a belt of Allied-dominated puppet governments carved largely out of Russian territory—cordon sanitaire, as Clemenceau called it, to keep the Russian and German proletariat apart. In the end the Soviets found it necessary to compromise with their Allied foes as they had compromised two years before with their German foes. In a series of Brest-Litovsks signed with the Allied puppet states that had been established on Soviet territory, the Soviets surrendered more than 330,000 square miles of their soil and 35,000,000 of their population. (By the Versailles treaty Germany lost only 22,000 square miles of her territory and 6,000,000 of her population.) Thus the cordon sanitaire was created, a broad band of territory stretching from Finland to Bessarabia, 1,500 miles long and 200 to 400 miles wide, to keep the "plague of socialism" out of Europe.

That this objective and no pretended principle of "self-determination" was behind the creation of the "independent" states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, and the gift of the Ukrainian provinces of Bessarabia and Bukovina to Rumania, was cynically avowed at the time by Clemenceau and Lloyd George—the chief architects of both Versailles and the cordon sanitaire. At the very same time that those states were torn away from the Soviet Union in the name of "self-determination" Lloyd George added 1,600,000 square miles and 35,000,000 un-self-determined natives to the British empire, whereas Clemenceau added 300,000 square miles and 5,000,000 un-self-determined natives to the French empire.

But the object of the cordon sanitaire was not merely to keep socialism out of western Europe. It was also to strangle it in the territory to which it was confined. In the north the severance of the Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians from their new socialist fatherland practically shut off the Soviet peoples from the Baltic, which is as vital to them as the Atlantic seaboard is to the United States. The Soviet 1,000-mile frontage on the Baltic was reduced to 100 miles. Riga, Libau, and Reval (Tallinn), its chief Baltic ports and termini of its most important transcontinental railway systems, were amputated from the commercial and industrial body of the Soviet Union. Leningrad, its only remaining Baltic seaport and former capital, originally 600 miles from any foreign border, found itself an exposed frontier post within artillery range (twenty

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miles) of the Finnish border and less than 100 miles from the Estonian border. On the west its capital, Moscow, formerly 1,000 miles from the border, was brought within 450 miles of an enemy. In the south, Odessa, the Soviet's chief port on the Black Sea, formerly 250 miles from the border, was, like Leningrad, brought within artillery range (twenty miles) of the Rumanian frontier.

THAT the border states established on the western territory of the Soviet Union were merely temporary bulwarks against socialism, to be dismantled as soon as "an orderly, well established [i.e.], capitalist] government" could be brought into being in Russia, has been frequently emphasized by our own State Department, which now so persistently refuses to recognize the reabsorption of the Baltic peoples into the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics. In Wilson's famous Fourteen Points (Jan. 8, 1918) outlining the American idea of a reorganized democratic Europe neither Estonia, Latvia, nor Lithuania are mentioned among the new states to be established. Of the future cordon sanitaire states only Poland is mentioned, and her boundaries are specifically restricted to "territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations," excluding, in other words, the Byelorussian and Ukrainian provinces rejoined to the Soviet Union in 1939. In a memorandum which Wilson's Secretary of State, Lansing, prepared as a draft of the American peace proposals the following recommendations are made: "The Baltic provinces of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia shall be autonomous states of a Russian confederation. . . . The Ukraine shall be a state of the Russian confederation to which shall be annexed those portions of the Austro-Hungarian empire in which the Ruthenians predominate"—meaning eastern Galicia, Bukovina, and Ruthenia (formerly Czechoslovakian, now Hungarian). In 1920, when the State Department was considering de facto recognition of the Baltic states, E. Young, American commissioner to the Baltic states, declared:

"The leading men here [in the Baltic states] are under no illusions as to the future relation of these states to Russia and realize full well that with an orderly, well established government in Russia, the Baltic provinces will again become part of what will probably be a federated Russia."

There remains now only the southern anchor of the cordon sanitaire, the province of Bessarabia, to be accounted for, and our State Department has gone on record on that too. It is well known that the Soviet Union never recognized Rumania's seizure of Bessarabia. It is not so well known that our own State Department has never recognized Rumania's annexation of Bessarabia, and the province has consistently appeared on US government maps of Europe as Soviet territory.

Today, nearly twenty-five years after Brest-Litovsk and Versailles, Russia finds herself confronted with a situation which reenacts the scene of the old birth trauma with disturbing fidelity. Again she finds herself allied with America and the British (and French empire) in a war against Germany and again she finds attempts at using the principle of self-determination as a weapon against her by influential groups in the government of her present and former allies. The Soviet Union, which according to Vice-President Wallace, has achieved genuine "ethnic democracy," prides itself more than any other country in the world on its recognition of the principle of self-determination. Its very name —the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics —from which the word Russian has been scrupulously eliminated, is a tribute to that principle. It can hardly be expected to take seriously the slogan under which the attack of reactionary groups is being launched against it. It knows that if it had remained a capitalist state in 1917 the Baltic states, in whose interests the principle of self-determination is now being invoked, would never have been born. And if it were a capitalist state now, its recovery of lost territories would hardly be questioned. Instead we might be hearing the same sympathetic discussions of "Russia's traditional rights to Constantinople and the Straits" that we heard in the halycon days of the Kerensky regime.

UNDER the circumstances any American should easily see why the Soviet Union might conclude that in 1943 as in 1919 an attempt is being made to punish it for the sin of being a socialist state. This, lest it be forgotten, is in itself an important violation of that lightly invoked Atlantic Charter which guarantees social self-determination as well as political self-determination to every country in the world. For it carriers within it the seeds of that other deadlier conflict about which Vice-President Wallace warned—an ideological crusade this time against Socialism instead of fascism.

Nor is that other fashionable device of trying to beat the Soviet Union with its own Soviet-made instrument of collective security any more soothing to the Soviet hide than the instrument of self-determination. Persuasive sirens, usually perched on the tops of New York *Times* editorial columns, sing that under postwar collective security the Soviet Union would no longer have to worry whether Leningrad was twenty miles from friendly little Finland or seventy miles, and therefore boundary questions would not matter. There is no complementary verse to their song urging that under postwar collective security, the United States could dispense with garrisons in Pearl Harbor, 2,404 miles from San Francisco, or the Panama Canal, 1,661 miles from New Orleans.

There is justifiable concern in this country about the need for improving Soviet-American relations, and all sorts of suggestions have been advanced. They range from proposals that the American Communist Party be dissolved to the suggestion that our Soviet ally surrender eight times as much territory as our enemy, Germany, was forced to surrender after the last war. In return for this dismemberment of the USSR some people generously offer to guarantee the integrity of the rest of the Soviet Union. But such territorial proposals are as ludicrous as any Soviet proposal might be that suggested that we hold plebiscites in southern California, New Mexico, and Arizona and let the 3,500,000 Mexicans of the Southwest decide whether these areas be returned to Mexico. Such suggestions might seem fantastic to many Americans but they are the literal equivalent of the proposals which are made in all seriousness to the Soviet Union by those who, when they are not knaves, are fools.

After all, the Soviet Union never landed an expeditionary force on what corresponds to our Maine or Oregon coasts. The Soviet Union never encouraged Mexico with arms and money to reconquer California, New Mexico, and Arizona; or France to reconquer Louisiana; or Spain to reconquer Florida. All this, however, is the equivalent of what Allied governments in the last war did to the Soviet Union. Nor is the Soviet Union suggesting by way of "compromise" that our rights to California, New Mexico, Arizona, etc., be subject to international arbitration at the coming peace conference.

There is a simple formula for American-Soviet amity and that is to forgive—though not necessarily forget—the fact that the Soviet Union is a socialist state, and treat it as we would any other great and friendly power. Once that ideological incubus is off our minds it is surprising how many of the differences that supposedly divide us will melt into thin (or hot) air and the two greatest of the United Nations will slip into the role of natural allies which their geographical position plainly cries for.

ALTER BRODY.

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TWO LANDS

Both lands roll across a continent and both have the beauty of gigantic immensity; not the pretty, little scenic beauty of the Rhine, not the postcard beauty of the Riviera but a grand, gigantic sternness comprised of the fierce ugliness of the desert, the jagged grandeur of stony spinal ridges that puncture the sky for a thousand miles. Both have continental rivers that in the spring become all-inundating enemies and both have new and lusty cities whose blast furnaces lick the black night with red. Both have the heroic diversity of distance, the lazy clack of palm trees in tropical softness, the fierce howl of the biting gale in the snow-covered north. Both have immense lonelinesses, regions in which the solitary horseman has only his song for company, and both know the million-peopled cities in which the pavements flow with never ending streams.

I am speaking, of course, of the United States and the Soviet Union, the two lands which are depicted in the exhibition at Radio City in New York under the auspices of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship with the cooperation of the Office of War Information. It is a display which projects the mind. You see the bright, eager faces of children at school and you do not ask, although the captions tell, whether they are Russian or American. You see the horsemen on the never ending prairie and about him are white faced longhorns that he guards and you feel *him* rather than the technicality of his land. You see the workers sweating in the long vistas of the modern production line and whether they are in Magnitorsk or Pittsburgh seems irrelevant. You see the giant wheatlands stretching to the horizon, see a man on a binder, watching the deliberate turn of the reel, and you do not know whether he is Dakota or the Ukraine until you consult the printed legend. You see the giant dam, the skyscraper cleanly ascending, and only the printed word will tell you whether the scene is in our own land or the Soviet Union. These are people, and as you look you experience a slow fury at the fascists who would steal their labor. You feel the war as it came to the little home, so tidy, so secure, in Kiev when the two boys—they were at the university and are dead now—deserted their test tubes and marched to war; you feel it as it came to the neat frame house in Kokomo, Indiana, when the eldest son left his studies at Bloomington for the battlefield. . . .

Both lands roll across a continent. Both were born in revolution. Both were threatened by civil war. . . . But as you see the faces of those dancing, American barn dance, the wild exultancy of the dancing Russians, as you see the crowd at Brooklyn rooting for the Dodgers, the stretch of eager faces in the stadium at Moscow, as you see the straining torture of the racing runners, the exultant swiftness of the halfback as he speeds around the end—then it is difficult to think of institutions, and instead one thinks of people. The smiling American with the hotdog, the grinning Russian with the vodka . . . where are they now? One, or both, perhaps, are dead. At any rate we can be sure, if age and appearance are any criterion, that both are fighting the same foe.

As you enter, your eye meets a giant caption which proclaims, "Two countries young enough to dare to attempt equality among men." On the left is a panorama of American faces —Texans, Poles, Negroes, Norwegians against a montage of ridges and gullies, the peaks and plains of this American land. On the right are the Cossacks, the Georgians, the Siberians, the Jews, and the Armenians of the Soviet Union against a background that has a reminiscent sweep. Identical legends loom above each: "A land big enough to weld one nation from many nationalities" and "A soil rich enough to grow dreams greater than the past."

Beneath are the American and Soviet Constitutions and parallel quotations from each. "The inviolability of the homes of citizens and the privacy of correspondence are protected by law, Article 128 of the Soviet Constitution" is next to the Fourth Amendment of the American Constitution: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable seizures shall not be violated." There is the First Amendment to the American Constitution providing freedom of worship and Article 124 of the Soviet Constitution declaring, "Freedom of religious worship and freedom of anti-religious propaganda is recognized for all citizens." There is the American provision, "Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or the freedom of the press" and there is the Soviet provision "The citizens of the USSR are guaranteed by law freedom of speech and freedom of the press." As I read the last, a tall red-faced man in a Stetson hat said to a boy, evidently his son, "I don't believe it." The boy said, "Well, I don't know. Remember we didn't think they had a real army . . . or any factories. . . ."

The man and the boy passed on. They walked into a replica of a Red Army dugout, fingered the uniforms of the Red Army soldiers hanging there, examined equipment, lifted the telephone on the dugout table and heard a voice recite the latest communique from the Eastern Front. They saw the slim rations of those who suffered in the Leningrad siege—four slices of black bread daily. They stared a long time at a giant photo in which the faces of Americans and Russians are mixed and for a time they tried, without success, to determine which were Americans and which were Russians. They saw the map of the United States with its caption, "If it had happened to us," and read that if we had suffered Russia's losses we would have lost the entire industrial east, three-quarters of our population, and twenty-one of our forty-eight states.

But they paused longest before two battle scenes. One showed American troops charging the enemy. The other revealed Russian troops charging the same enemy. There were wounded in both pictures. The tall man in the Stetson hat pressed close to the picture of the Americans, as if trying to recognize some face. "I wonder if this is North Africa," he said.

The man backed away and looked at both pictures once again. "I guess we are pretty much alike," he said finally. "Anyway we're in the same boat."

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READERS' FORUM

Add Detroit

TO NEW MASSES: There are so many conflicting reports about the Ford Willow Run bomber plant that I don't know whom to believe. A. B. Magil in one of his articles from Detroit said that production there has increased in recent months and that it is considerably more than one bomber a day. But in a recent issue of the New York *Post* Victor Riesel in his column of labor news paints an entirely different picture. He says "the plant's production, known to few, is negligible." And he also writes that "thousands of skilled engineers and machinists are ripping Willow Run apart in order to move its valuable machinery thousands of miles—to Missouri, Minnesota, and New York. Some 5,500 pieces of equipment are being transferred to Ford's Pratt & Whitney aircraft engine plants alone."

I have written to the Ford Motor Co. asking them for information, but they refused to give me any. I wonder whether it is possible to get the facts. Another thing: in view of Henry Ford's known pro-Nazi sympathies, doesn't all the chaos look like deliberate sabotage?

HARRY ROGERS.

New York.

[Victor Riesel is no more accurate about the Willow Run plant than about other matters. "Negligible" is not a very precise word. The picture Riesel gives of the situation at Willow Run is false; instead of deteriorating, production, after months of failure, has since the beginning of the year definitely improved. Talks with leaders of the United Auto Workers-CIO, government officials, and workers employed at the Willow Run plant, convinced me that this improvement is real. I thing there is enough to criticize in the planning and organization of Willow Run without indulging in irresponsible exaggeration.

Nor is it true that Willow Run is being ripped apart. The Ford company has agreed to recentralize some operations, a belated step urged by the union and the War Production Board. Riesel has, however, confused this with something else: the expansion of the Ford production of Pratt & Whitney aircraft engines. The 5,500 pieces of equipment he speaks of are not being shipped from Willow Run, but for the most part from the Ford Rouge plant. They are being transferred to the Ford factories at Highland Park, Mich., Memphis, Kansas City, and other points, where they are being used to manufacture 2,000-horsepower Pratt & Whitney engines. This has nothing to do with the Willow Run plant.

When I was in Detroit, more than one Ford worker I talked to hinted that the company's inefficiency was deliberate. I think it inevitable that Henry Ford's lack of enthusiasm for the war must directly or indirectly affect his performance in production, but responsible persons told me there is no evidence of actual sabotage.]

A. B. MAGIL.

TO NEW MASSES: May I, as a Detroit auto worker, tell you how much I appreciated Mr. Magil's series on my city and industry. The whole series was not only important to me because of the very able reporting and writing, but especially because of the penetrating analysis. The clear discussion of such problems as incentive pay, and the operation of labor-management committees helped me and some co-workers to see and understand things that in the past were muddled. And further, Mr. Magil's inside observations on such questions as the anti-Negro feeling that is being stirred up by the KKK have already been proved correct by the subsequent development in Packard. Frankly these Detroit articles have been a real contribution for us auto workers, and might I suggest that you let Mr. Magil cover other industries such as aviation or shipbuilding—it would, I am sure, help the fellows in those industries and prove of real interest to us in Detroit. More power to you guys on NEW MASSES for all that you are doing for victory.

JAMES GRANDEN.

Detroit.

Strictly Private

TO NEW MASSES: When I first read the article "I Am a Soldier's Wife," in NEW MASSES of May 11, I felt very close to Ellen Davidson and to all the wives in the armed forces everywhere—here in the United States, in Britain, the Soviet Union, China, and in all the underground movements, fighting for the right to live as free men. I had been touched by reality and I felt this brotherhood, because in a week my husband, too, was going to camp to be a soldier.

Now, I have been a soldier's wife for nearly a month, and although I miss him, I want him to be the best soldier there ever was. And I think he will be a good soldier, too, because his heart is there and he respects the Army discipline.

He writes daily about the swell guys there are at camp, about the details that are part of the "toughening up" process, of his impatience to get set, of his delight when he receives little packages I send him, of his regret that he didn't get into the army sooner, and of his love. He tells me of surprising "the guys" (his fellow-soldiers) "with his capacity for K.P. and other routine details, which take stamina, bub."

AND I feel proud, tremendously proud, because he's trying his best to be a good soldier. The kind of a soldier who understands that there's a tough job to be done.

Most of his tent-mates feel the same way, and especially the nineteen- and twenty-year-olds, who have learned quickly the significance of comradeship and humor in this people's war. This may best be expressed by a note that was left by one of the boys who was shipped out: "Pvt. ———— leaves you with a broken heart." E. J.

New York City.

Education?

TO NEW MASSES: I was pleased to see in your pages (June 8) Albert Halper's story about the two Negro boys, which also touches incidentally on the question of education in New York. I should be more pleased to see you give our primary education something more than incidental consideration. Your magazine has fought for extension of nursery schools and other facilities for child care outside the classroom. But you have been curiously silent on the classroom itself.

Do you know, for instance, that the New York schools now follow a policy of one hundred percent promotions? This is the school executives' cynical answer to the problem of overcrowding. Shove them along and make room for more; who cares whether they have learned anything?

Do you know that Negro children, finishing their elementary training, are deliberately shunted toward industrial training schools and discouraged from acquiring academic or commercial training? Do you know that they are frequently concentrated in Jim Crow high schools, often located, like De Witt Clinton, an hour's subway ride from where they live? And do you know that the industrial high schools are understaffed, overcrowded sweatshops?

Do you know that some children are at the mercy of members of a small, organized fascist-minded gang of teachers, whose opposition to the war effort manifests itself in sabotaging War Relief collection and scrap drives? Do you know that all children are given teachers so overdriven, so loaded with intrusive and unnecessary clerical work, that months may go by before the teacher even knows her pupils' faces?

And do you know that all this is the result of a ten-year drive on the part of certain anti-democratic elements to destroy popular education in America, a drive redoubled under cover of the war? And what do you think should be done about it? BERYL MCMURRAY.

New York City.

Air Raid Thoughts

TO NEW MASSES: During a recent air raid drill in New York I got to thinking what the possibilities are of a bombardment of the East Coast. It doesn't seem to me that Hitler will be sending any planes over so long as he feels that his compromise-peace boys in this country still have a chance of doing a job. The national anger, even after a small token attack, would be such as to do more damage to the appeaser coterie than the load of bombs dropped by a Nazi plane. And if and when a raid does take place it might be taken as a definite sign that Berlin is close to its doom. Such an act would represent the final desperate plunge of men out to ruin and pillage. I don't remember which of the Nazi leaders said it but one of them did remark that when they leave they will leave with a bang that will rock the world. This is my own opinion on the question of the imminence of air raids although I do not for a moment believe that precautions should be relaxed. The way things are moving it may turn out that Hitler has already given up hope of saving himself through the Pacific Firsters or any other of the tin-horn fuehrers.

ARCHIE SCHULMAN.

New York City.

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DANSE MACABRE

"The Black Book of the Nazi Terror," the work of writers and artists from sixteen nations, describes fascist death and pestilence marching across Europe. . . . Reviewed by Samuel Putnam.

EL LIBRO NEGRO DEL TERROR NAZI EN EUROPA (THE BLACK BOOK OF THE NAZI TERROR IN EUROPE.) *Editorial Committee: Antonio Castro Leal, Andre Simone, Bodo Uhse, Juan Rejano, Anna Seghers, Ludwig Renn, Egon Erwin Kisch. Illustrations selected by Hannes Meyer. Published in Spanish by El Libro Libre (Free Book), Mexico City.*

TODAY, above all, we must try to get *the whole picture* of the Nazi terror as it prevails over practically the whole of the continent of Europe. It is no longer a question of terror and the destruction of culture and civilization within Germany itself or within a single conquered country or two. The Brown Plague has now swallowed up nearly a score of nations. What we need, what we must have, is a picture that will convey to us the whole of this enormous landscape of death and desolation. Then, when we hear a "Happy" Chandler proclaiming that Hitler is not our enemy, when we hear a William Randolph Hearst blandly assuring us that this war is nothing more than a "family quarrel," with the implication that we are on the wrong side of that quarrel, we shall know, we shall remember, that in reality these voices are advocating nothing less than the annihilation of European civilization.

But where to get such a picture, how to get it? Off hand, one might say it was not to be had save piecemeal, a panel here and there from the dreadful mural. Nevertheless, the picture has been painted. It has been painted by the writers and artists of sixteen nations, many of them world famous and practically all of them now living in exile, the greater part of them in Mexico. (In this respect Mexico is in an unusually favored position, thanks to her own great-hearted generosity toward the refugees from the terror of Hitler, Mussolini, and Franco.) The result is a volume of nearly 300 pages, *El Libro Negro del Terror Nazi en Europa* (The Black Book of the Nazi Terror in Europe), printed by the "*Libro Libre* (Free Book)" publishing house of Mexico City, under the sponsorship of President Avila Camacho of Mexico, President Prado of Peru, and President Eduard Benes of the Republic of Czechoslovakia.

Yes, here is the picture at last, in so far as human pen and pencil and the photographic lens can portray it. Here is the anguished yet hopeful voice of the peoples themselves, as they writhe beneath the Nazi boot-heel, bleeding, dying, fighting back, as they wait for the morning of liberation. The muted agony of the nations has here become articulate, is given voice by the most gifted sons of the various peoples, those sons whose trade is words and the plastic line. And the collective labor, the assembled testimony of these writers, artists, political leaders, university professors, diplomats, priests and pastors, journalists, and active fighters against fascism, is fittingly dedicated "To all those who have died, to all those who are struggling." Antonio Castro Leal, well known Mexican writer and former rector of the University of Mexico, correctly states in his introduction that there is no other book like this in any language.

THOMAS MANN, Anna Seghers, Heinrich Mann, Lion Feuchtwanger, Ludwig Renn, F. C. Weiskopf, Bruno Frank, Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexei Tolstoy, Egon Erwin Kisch, Andre Simone, Pierre van Paassen, Genevieve Tabouis, Henri de Kerillis—these are but a few of the better known among the fifty-six writers who have contributed their services to fighting the Hitler terror. These names, that is to say, are those most familiar to the average North American. There are other contributors well known in Europe, including more than one name honored in some literature with which we are unfamiliar. If these other writers are not mentioned here, it is simply because their names would mean little to readers in this country; it does not imply that their work is not of equally high quality; indeed, the writing in this volume throughout is sustained at a remarkably high level of literary excellence.

Grabado de Leopoldo Mendez

From "The Black Book"

Especially valuable are the contributions from the journalists of occupied countries. These are men whose life-long business is to observe and to report accurately. And they not only do it with the skill that comes from long training and experience; they have the additional advantage—over the foreign correspondent, for example—of being a part of the scene they are describing. These people are their people; the sufferings and the agony they portray are, so to speak, those of their own flesh and blood; and they themselves have all, in one way or another, been Hitler's victims.

SOMETIMES the journalist is in a position to give us the "picture no artist could paint," or none but a master artist in any event. A case in point is the account of "What Happened in France" by Jeanne and Kurt Stern, the former a French, the latter a German, journalist, married to each other. At the time of the Nazi invasion Jeanne Stern happened to be in Paris, Kurt in what was euphemistically known until recently as "unoccupied France," and the extracts from their diaries convey a sense of contemporaneity such as is seldom to be had from all other accounts of "Why France Fell."

Besides the professional journalists, a number of political figures from the occupied countries have contributed to this anthology of horror. Former deputies to the German Reichstag, the French and Italian Chambers, the Spanish Cortes, etc., some of whom are trained journalists as well as politicians, have their word and it often is an illuminating one.

But this "Black Book" would not be the book it is, its blackness would be incomplete, without the superb illustrations,

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the half a hundred original drawings and 164 photographs. Some of the drawings are full-page, while others form chapter headings or chapter ends, or appear in the margins. The twenty-four artists include Aguirre, Bardasano, Bracho, Morado, Ledesma, Mendez, Paz Perez, and Zalce of Mexico; Brodata, Brodsky (winner of the Stalin Prize for painting), Shukov, Yefimov, and the trio of illustrators collectively known as Kukriniski from the Soviet Union; Kollwitz from Germany; Masareel of Belgium; Hannes Meyer of Switzerland; and Corsair, Eggleson, Gropper, Duff, Mallary, and O'Higgins from our own country.

The artistic contributions, like the writing in this volume, are outstanding. It is as if the various painters, illustrators, engravers, caricaturists, all of them with well established reputations in their fields, had been inspired, lifted above themselves, by their horror and hatred—and by the hope, the tremendous hope which all these writers and artists seem to have in the valiant peoples for whom they speak.

Impressive as the drawings and engravings are, however, I for one somehow tend to forget them when I look at the scores of marvelous photographs selected by the distinguished Swiss architect, Hannes Meyer. I say marvelous, because I do not believe I have ever fully realized before the camera's miraculous power of evocation. A number of these pictures have appeared elsewhere, but the great majority of them are new. Here, for instance, is the body of a young Soviet prisoner, nauseatingly gashed and mangled, literally butchered by the Nazis. It brings home, as no words could, the meaning of Molotov's letter on German atrocities. Here are the charred remains of Soviet prisoners burned alive. Here on the Leningrad front are assassinated infants left lying in the snow. Here in Kerch (Crimea) is a heap of women's bodies, murdered by the Nazi invaders and flung out like trash.

But the Soviet Union is by no means the only victim. Here in Norway is an entire village reduced to ashes, for no reason but that a few of its inhabitants had fled to England. Or, here are the buttocks of a Norwegian after he has been "questioned" by the Gestapo—quite as horrible a sight in its way as the body of the young Soviet prisoner. Here in Franco Spain is a group of youths in their teens being led out to the firing squad. Here are the Spanish babies that Franco murdered. Here are a couple of young Frenchmen being shot by Petain's executioners on orders from their Nazi master.

It is not, however, the more gruesome of these photographs which are always the most revealing or the most deeply stirring. Some of the others contain the tragedy of an entire people in a single picture. Here is a woman in Germany arrested for wearing mourning clothes in public. Look at the bestial faces of the two storm troopers who are dragging her along. Look at the seven big husky storm troopers who are arresting one aged Jew, at the face of the weeping Czech woman who is compelled to give the Nazi salute to the invading hordes in Prague. See the Nazi robbers loading their trucks in front of a plundered shop in Amsterdam. See the laughing young storm troopers, mere boys, shaving the beard of a religious Jew in Poland—a worse torture for him, quite possibly, than any act of physical violence; yet see the look of proud, calm resignation on his fine, pale face.

And there are pictures of still another kind, pictures that bring a message of hope, that foretell the doom of the enslavers. The splendid Soviet women guerrillas, rifles in hand, the Norwegian bishops holding a secret conclave in the forest . . . yes, there is hope as well as horror.

Something should be said of the physical make-up of the book. An outstanding feature here is the marginal glosses and illustrations. The glosses, documentary quotations for the most part, serve to illuminate the text and tell a running story of their own.

SUCH is the general character of this *Black Book of the Nazi Terror*. The work begins with a general view of National Socialism as "a form of thought for those who have never thought," as Sr. Castro Leal puts it in his introduction. The volume opens suitably enough with a brief essay by Thomas Mann, entitled "Nazism Degrades Europe." It is followed by Andre Simone's police-call for the fuehrer: "Adolf Hitler: the Police Are Looking for Him." Paul Merker, former Reichstag deputy, then writes on "The Integration and Disintegration of Nazism." He tells us, among other things, what the precise social composition of the Nazi party is, from the reactionary, aggression-minded Junkers and generals at the top, down to the *lumpenproletaires* at the bottom. He describes the increase of terror within Germany since the defeat before Moscow, and gives us a vivid picture of Hitler's plunder of his own people, the shortage of materials, the sabotage, the weakening of morale, and the growth of the opposition; and finally he discusses the question of the responsibility of the German people as a whole.

Dr. Heinrich Knudsen, the well known theologian, writes on "Protestantism Persecuted," and we are reminded of Hitler's order that *"Protestant pastors must dig their own graves."* The Catholic point of view is presented by Prince Hubertus zu Lowenstein. "The Catholic Church, like the Protestant, must disappear from German life," Hitler, quoted by Rosenberg, has declared. Hitler himself has said: "If the Catholic priests do not submit, we will not make martyrs of them. We shall treat them as ordinary criminals. And if that is not enough, we shall see that they are made ridiculous and the object of scorn."

It is instructive to contrast such declarations with the statement made by the Metropolitan Sergei, head of the Orthodox Russian Church in the Soviet Union: "It is necessary for me to state that no one in Russia has ever hindered us from serving our Lord Jesus Christ. There is not a single instance in the Soviet Union of anyone's having suffered by reason of his orthodox faith or because he has preached the doctrines of Christ."

Lion Feuchtwanger discusses Hitler vs. the Jews, and later in the volume there is an article by the Jewish writer Dr. Leon Weiss, on "The Extermination of the Jews." In his essay Feuchtwanger analyzes the basic, underlying motives of Nazi anti-Semitism. The story of the Nazi assault on German culture, with which we are all more or less familiar by this time, is told again, with fresh and interesting sidelights, by the German poet Paul Mayer. "When we utter the word war," Goebbels has declared, "we mean to say—with all the eloquence of the German soul—culture."

One of the finest pieces of writing in the entire volume is the short story by Anna Seghers, author of *The Seventh Cross*. Titled "How a Nazi Is Made," it traces the growth of a young storm trooper from his boyhood until finally he is tried, condemned, and shot by a Red Army firing squad for atrocities committed on Soviet soil. We see here the social forces which account for the corruption of German youth.

The Nazi treatment of war prisoners is described by the German journalist Max Schroeder. Besides the unspeakable physical tortures and mutilations inflicted upon the prisoners, more than 400 of them die from hunger every week in the camp at Bad Sulza, Germany. And Baron Mannerheim's Finnish fascists are, if anything, even more barbarous; they cut off the ears, nose, and lips, and gouge out the eyes of prisoners.—(This is the "Little Finland" with which we are still at peace, while that same "little Finland" perpetrates such atrocities on the troops of our ally!)

FOR the Nazi Gestapo, its composition and its work, read the article by the German journalist Rudolf Fuerth, "Assassins in Command." From the "human interest" point of view, you will be particularly interested in the pen portrait of Himmler, the vegetarian, who does not smoke or drink, who eschews tea and coffee for herb-infusions, and who is an official of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals! It is an amazing study in abnormal psychology. We need not have recourse to psychology, however, to understand the Gestapo. It is simply, as Fuerth

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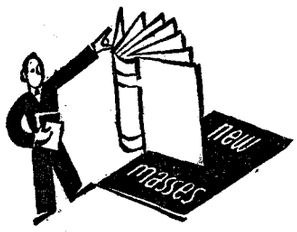

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tells us, "terror as a business," and big business at that. It is organized robbery with the robbers as the masters of society.

How did Nazism come to be? Heinrich Mann traces for us the political, social, and economic conditions which led to Hitler's accession to power. And he makes, in passing, a point which Americans would do well to take to heart. Under the Weimar Republic, he reminds us, it was not the Nazi gangsters who were arrested and punished but those who opposed them. We might think of this in connection with our Dies, Kerr, and Rapp-Coudert committees and similar institutions. A complement to Mann's article is provided by Bodo Uhse, who writes about the stages in Hitler's march toward world conquest.

"Nazism and Spain" is discussed by Antonio Mije, former deputy of the Spanish Cortes. The work of the Thaelmann Battalion in Spain is described by Commander Walter Janka—"There Vengeance Began." The significance of Spain as "The First Trench" is considered by Antonio Velao, president of the Spanish Democratic Union of Mexico; and Juan Rejano, Spanish writer and former editor of the exile literary monthly *Romance*, writes on "Spain in the Nazi Bonfire."

"The Austrian Tragedy" is portrayed by the journalist Bruno Frei. Egon Erwin Kisch and F. C. Weiskopf write on Czechoslovakia, the former stressing Hitler's innate hatred for the Czech people, while the latter emphasizes the Nazi war on Czechoslovakian culture. Another interesting article, on the indomitable Czech resistance to the invaders, is one entitled "The Triumph of the Good Soldier Schweik," by the journalist Lenka Reiner. We all of us remember Jaroslav Hasek's masterpiece, *The Good Soldier Schweik*, with its inimitable peasant hero who played so "dumb" to his imperial Austrian officers in World War I. Well, according to Reiner, Schweik still lives and breathes in the Czech peasant-guerrilla of today.

What is the real meaning, anyhow, of Hitler's "New Order"? It does not take Ludwig Renn long to answer that question. He sums it up in a couple of words: "Plunder and Pillage." Particularly enlightening is Renn's account of how the Nazi Aryans have treated their "brothers of the north," the Dutch and Norwegians. He also tells us the precise manner in which the despoliation of France was accomplished by the "strong-box thieves."

Josef Wittlin, well known Polish author, and the English journalist Frank Brown deal with the enslavement of the Polish people. The order of the Gestapo head in Poland was brief and to the point: "They must pay dearly. No sentimental weakness. In case of doubt, hang them immediately. Only an iron severity . . . will guarantee our success against these Polish sub-men."

With bitter irony, Ferdinand Bruckner, the German writer, portrays "The Heroic Masters of Norway," giving us at the same time a graphic picture of the struggle of the Norwegians against the Nazi yoke. Pierre van Paassen, in turn, tells of the "New Order in Holland," and Thomas Hazebrok, Belgian sociologist, takes for his theme "Belgium, Occupied Territory."

It is altogether fitting that considerable space in the *Black Book* should be given to France; for France, when all is said, remains the outstanding symbol of the betrayal of a people by the fifth column in high places within the country, and as such stands as a warning to all other nations that still have their freedom left. Lydia Lambert sums it up in "The Misery and Greatness of France." Genevieve Tabouis writes on "Petain and the Beginning of a Treason." Petain, who will go down alongside Neville Chamberlain as one of the filthiest old men in history. The Petain who, in September 1939 wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*: "The most ancient traditions of France are represented today by National Socialism," and who, according to one of his doting admirers believed that "the establishment of an authoritarian regime was a consideration of the first order and one which might even justify capitulation to the enemies of his country." Simone Tery gives us a moving account of the death of "Gabriel Peri, Hero of France." In the words of the declaration issued by the Fighting French Committee in London last February, the names of Gabriel Peri and Naval Lieutenant Estienne d'Orves "are united forever. One was a Communist and the other a royalist and a Catholic; but when the moment came to face the German bullets, both uttered the same cry: 'Here I am, strong in the presence of death! Good-bye and long live France!' "

We are hearing a great deal of the Yugoslav partisan army these days. If you want to know more of these valiant fighters, read Erich Jungmann's "Resistance and Treason in the Balkans." A former Reichstag deputy, Jungmann considers not only the Yugoslav patriots, but those of Greece, Rumania, Bulgaria, and Croatia as well. In connection with Greece, we learn of a new kind of terror—"Terror through Hunger;" in Bulgaria, it is "King against the People"; and finally, there is "Rumania, a Nazi Satrapy." Jungmann's article is supplemented by Sava Kosanovich, former minister and parliamentary leader ("Heroes of Yugoslavia"); Theodor Balk ("The Balkan Mountains"); and Dr. Leo Katz, Austrian historian ("Hitler on the Acropolis"). Aladar Tamas handles the subject of "Terror in Austria."

"Mussolini, Precursor of Hitler" is the title chosen for his article by Francisco Frola, former Italian deputy, now a professor in the University of Mexico. But "The Heritage of Garibaldi" still lives, as

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is made plain by Mario Montagnana. An interesting question is posed by the German philosopher Ernst Bloch, in connection with Germany's responsibility for Italian fascism.

In connection with the Nazis in the Baltic states, we are given four articles which convey much information on a corner of Europe about which we know comparatively little: "The Nazi Plague in Lithuania," by Simkus, Lithuanian journalist; "Germans in Letonia," by Niebre, Lett journalist; "Nazi Atrocities in Estonia," by Prof. Hans Kruets; and "The Guerrillas of Byelorussia," by Linkor. Once again, in Byelorussia, we come upon the Nazis as the defilers of religion. Is it any wonder, then, if the slogan in these countries is, as Pietr Panch phrases it in the title of his article: "Death to the Invaders!" The same things are happening in Moldavia—read "Bloody Moldavia," by Emilian Bukov.

It was with the invasion of Poland, the Baltic states, and the Soviet Union that Nazi brutality appeared to reach its apogee. The objective of the invaders was stated clearly by Himmler: "Our task is to see to it that the East shall be inhabited by people of true German blood. We cannot be content with Germanizing in the old sense of the word, that is to say, with merely teaching these peoples the language and laws of Germany." In other words, the complete extermination of the Slavic peoples is the Nazi aim. Germany's attack on the USSR is discussed by the German journalist Alexander Abusch, who will be remembered as the editor of the *Brown Book* on the Reichstag fire. Alexei Tolstoy, noted Soviet author, answers the question: "What Are We Defending?" Mikhail Sholokhov, author of *And Quiet Flows the Don* and *The Don Flows Home to the Sea*, impresses upon us the necessity of "Hatred for the Nazis." You will want to read the story about the Soviet tank corps and their dog, "Trophy." You will also want to read Leonid Leonov's "Letter to an Unknown Friend."

"The Tragedy and Problems of the Refugees" is the title of a paper by Dr. Leo Lambert, former German delegate to the League of Nations, in connection with refugee matters. Dr. Lambert gives facts and discusses the refugee's future.

And finally, the lesson brought home by this volume is appropriately summarized by the leading representatives of the working class of Latin America, one of the outstanding labor leaders of the hemisphere, Lombardo Toledano. What is the answer to it all? Lombardo gives us that answer in half a dozen words: "Total Destruction of the Nazi Regime" and "death for all the guilty Nazis."

That is the lesson which we must learn.

IT IS sincerely to be hoped that some publisher here in the United States will see fit to bring out this marvelous *Black Book* in English translation. Certainly, he would be taking no commercial chances in doing so. Where else within the covers of a single volume would he find such an array of literary and artistic talent as is to be met with here? Where would he find a work of more timely and vital interest to the American people? Long after the Brown Curse has been wiped from the earth, this book will remain, in the face of all the doubters and pessimists, as a monument to man's essential, achieved, and enduring humanity toward man.

SAMUEL PUTMAN.

The Querulous Voice

LIFE OF W. B. YEATS, *by Joseph Hone. Macmillan. $6.*

"IT WAS during a two hours' talk with Adolf Hitler in 1938, and as Sir Ian listened to that eager, nervy voice running up and down the gamut of the emotional scales—laughter, sorrow, pity—the thought kept rising at the back of his head like a question mark, 'Where ever have I heard someone speak like this?' Then, suddenly, as Hitler spoke of his nightingales, the mirror of memory flashed and there he was listening again to his old friend Yeats."

This somewhat fulsome comparison of a poet's and a fuehrer's conversation is not the only evidence Joseph Hone's biography provides of Yeats' spiritual kinship with fascism. To deny Yeats' talent would be as absurd as to accept his own toplofty estimate of it; never the prophet he thought himself, he was at any rate an exquisite and melancholy lyrist. His early work made brilliant use of the revived Celtic mythology, while in his later years he achieved a passionate simplicity of style which now and then burned like fire. Yet most of the exaggerated praise he has received was not meant for his poetry at all. He thought himself the defender of aristocratic culture, but less cloudy minds were quick to see the modern implications of this obsolete position; and many a precious literary reactionary, like Mussolini's kept poet Ezra Pound, came to lay offerings at the shrine.

Yeats called himself unpolitical, declaring that a poet was above politics; yet his verse is one long campaign for that political and economic curse of Ireland, the absentee landlord. He called himself an Irish rebel, and talked of "the depravity of revolution." The Irish theater which he founded he allowed to be controlled for years by a rich Englishwoman who stipulated that it must never mention Irish politics. In his youth he left William Morris' circle "on finding that the Socialists made no effort to understand his thought" on occultism and cabalistical incantations, and at the other end of his long life he crystallized his own somewhat vague social outlook in what his biographer calls "a race philosophy," de-

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claring portentously that, "Neither the proletariat nor history can be justified." His one really clear political principle was hatred of the people, who appear in his work as "ignorant men," "the little streets," "Paudeen and Biddy," or "the blind, ignorant town."

Joseph Hone's biography makes no attempt at organization or analysis; instead Mr. Hone enumerates every hair in the beard of his prophet, giving you not only the small talk of each visitor to the Yeats house but even the color of the sofa he sat on. Patient excavation, however, will unearth an image of Yeats from this mass of detritus; and Yeats is worth studying as a symptom.

His aristocratic obsession will only be understood if one remembers he was not really an aristocrat. His pushing middle class relatives made much of their one remote connection with the great house of Butler, and his father, unwilling or unable to compete in the bourgeois world, rationalized his failure with gentlemanly affectations. William Butler Yeats grew up hanging on to the upper classes by the skin of his teeth; the one thing he could not forgive George Moore, who was a real aristocrat and didn't think much of it, was the latter's contempt for his snobbery.

A psychiatrist would have a field day with Yeats' neurotic conflicts; he emerges as simultaneously seclusive and ambitious, timid and aggressive. He would plunge into politics, seeing himself as a Renaissance Duke giving orders, and at the first sign of opposition retire in injured nobleness to despise his opponents in verse. It was grotesquely appropriate that he should waste half his life in a fruitless passion for the beautiful revolutionary Maud Gonne, that chryselephantine statue of a woman, who worked all her life for Irish freedom and for practically any other cause that would let her lead it. Admiring in her the qualities he lacked himself, Yeats tagged after her into the arena, constantly begging her to let him take her away from it all. She accepted his friendship and married someone else.

Virulently anti-bourgeois as only a latter-day spokesman of feudalism can be, Yeats in his early years often seemed to have something in common with popular revolt, and consequently found himself—to his horror—in what appeared to be a revolutionary position. This seeming alliance of aristocrat and proletarian, however, always dissolves when the crisis comes, the aristocrat finding that he needs the bourgeoisie for survival after all, and Yeats' political activities invariably ended with compromise of one sort or another to protect the gentry. Contemptuous of money-getting, he highly approved of money-having, defending landlordism: "How should the world gain, if this house failed, even though a hundred little houses were the better for it. . . . How

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should the world be better if the wren's nest flourish and the Eagle's house be shattered!"

His sympathy for intellectuals oppressed by the ignorant vanished, significantly, when Ernst Toller asked him to write in behalf of Hitler's prisoner, Karl von Ossietsky; Yeats refused, swearing at Toller. In 1924 he had already declared "Generations to come will have for their task, not the widening of liberty, but recovery from its errors—the building up of authority, the restoration of discipline. . . ." He was later delighted with Hitler's Germany because he had heard that there was "a new law in that country whereby ancient and impoverished families can recover their hereditary properties," no doubt seeing himself as Butler, Duke of Ormonde. Thus it was no temporary aberration, but the inevitable outcome of a lifetime, that made him write songs and draw up principles for O'Duffy's fascist Blueshirts in 1933. "The fascist leader of the Blueshirts had told me," Yeats writes, "that he was about to bring to see me the man he had selected for leader that I might talk my anti-democratic philosophy. I was ready. . . . Italy, Poland, Germany, then perhaps Ireland. Doubtless I shall hate it (though not so much as I hate Irish democracy)." And he lost his passion for the movement only because it failed to seize power, indulging instead in political controversy.

MR. HONE, who according to the jacket blurb "agrees with Yeats in setting good servants above good bargainers," reveals all this without a qualm, and thus enables us to penetrate the mask of escapist poet and discover an active enemy. But, indeed, it would suffice to read Yeats' poetry attentively to know him a spiritual fascist. The spiteful whine against the people which disfigures his later work is only matched by his arrogant contempt for Irish women revolutionaries like Eva Gore-Booth and Constance Markievicz—his thesis being that a woman's duty is to be young and beautiful and never think. Even his personal idiosyncrasies are typical of the fascist mind. His self-esteem amounted almost to megalomania; he smugly "improved" the poetry of William Blake, published a version of Wilde's *Reading Gaol* from which he had cut many passages (remarking, "My work gave me that privilege") and included far more of his own poems in the *Oxford Book of Modern Verse* than most editors would have thought decent. His most curious aberration, a lifelong devotion to fake occultism, spiritism, astrology, and magic that rivaled any hysterical spinster's, was the inevitable outgrowth of an obscurantist hatred of science, progress, and materialism. That he wrote beautiful and haunting verse seems less important when you consider what he put in it. He gains an adventitious importance today, however, when so

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MANY years ago the American historian John Fisk wrote, "All American history has since run along the lines marked out by the antagonism of Jefferson and Hamilton." Surely if historians and teachers had, in a more enlightened and energetic manner, developed the implications of this profound remark, there would today be far less weeping and wailing over the supposed historical ignorance of American youth. For, as Mr. Magil observes at the opening of his pamphlet, "The history of a nation's past is sometimes regarded as a cemetery in which noble monuments and shapely statuary mark the graves of issues and contentions long since dead." And young students have never been known to be overly fond of cemeteries.

The great virtue of Mr. Magil's little pamphlet is the vivid immediacy with which it recalls the great democratic tradition of our country. Into its forty-five pages he crowds a remarkably rich substantiation of his thesis that a people's past is "the glowing core of its nationhood out of which it draws strength and knowledge and clarity in the new trials of the present and future."

Truly it is with great clarity that Paine, Jefferson, Jackson, Douglass, Lincoln, Stevens speak to us today. And with an astonishing unanimity. With swift, sure strokes, Mr. Magil sketches the problems faced by these heroic figures and seeks from each the key to their successful solution. And the answer comes down through our history as with a single voice.

It is now some few years since Earl Browder, speaking to and for the Communist Party, began a campaign to rescue American history from the reactionaries, and to utilize its militant democratic traditions in the continuing progressive struggles of the American people. This campaign, embodied in Browder's speeches and writings, has since that day spread widely and is today bearing rich fruit.

There was surely never a time when it was more important than it is at present for America to gather its full strength in defense of its national existence. The deadly menace of fascism, striking in desperation on foreign battle fields, inspiring its friends and supporters in the halls of Congress, threatens to obliterate the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, the Emancipation Proclamation, the Gettysburg Address, all that Americans hold most dear.

"In total war we are waging today," writes Mr. Magil, "we need, in order to win, far greater unity of action than prevailed in 1776, 1812, and 1861, and the work of even a relatively small number of defeatists and saboteurs may be sufficient to block the victorious advance of this country and its allies." Into this unity for victory Mr. Magil brings the greatest figures of our past. They come from other sectors of the single battle for America. And their experiences deprive us of any excuse of being able to say we do not know what needs to be done for victory.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Magil's pamphlet with its clear and forceful lessons will receive wide circulation and thoughtful study. It is a mighty weapon for victory, filling the mind with clarity and the spirit with determination.

DAVID MCKELVEY WHITE.

Facts on File

FACTS ON FILE YEARBOOK, 1942. *Edited by R. L. Lapica. Person's Index, Facts on File, Inc., $20.*

EACH week there comes into the office of NEW MASSES several white sheets of paper and a couple of yellow sheets with punch holes in them for insertion in a file. Occasionally there are also blue or pink sheets. We put them away, but we don't forget them. When did Martin Dies issue his last blast at American democracy? When did President Roosevelt make his first trip through the country's war plants? When did Winston Churchill make his we-mean-to-hold-what-we-have speech? Facts on File, the weekly index and synopsis of world events, tells us and keeps us from getting our current history scrambled.

Now Facts on File has issued its yearbook for 1942, which merely means that its synopsis of world events has been bound into one volume and the cumulative weekly index has been made into an index for the entire year. The book is published with a whimsical foreword by Hendrik Willem van Loon, a member of the Facts on File advisory board. But once beyond Mr. van Loon's foreword, you enter upon very serious business indeed. Each week's news is divided under a number of headings: US War (later globalized into World War II), National Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Latin America, Finance and Economics, Arts and Science, Education and Religion, Sports and Miscellaneous. Sometime in September Obituaries is added. The events in each group are synopsized chronologically, and a quick glance at the index in back will tell you just where to find what. Facts on File has been in existence only a little over two years. Editors, students, teachers, and anyone who has occasion to refer back to the events of the recent past will find it a great help.

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SEAMEN IN BATTLE

"Action in the North Atlantic" is the film tribute that the merchant seamen deserve. . . . Joy Davidman reports on three war films: a masterpiece, a middling one, and a mess.

On land, a battle front is a place you can identify. On this side is your territory, on the other Theirs, with a line of fiery death where the two meet. In practice, of course, the division becomes hazy. You often infiltrate each other's positions and find yourself operating in the rear of hostile forces. Yet the front remains a fairly limited strip of country, as a rule. You can march up to it, and with luck, when relieved, you can march back.

At sea there are five thousand miles of blank, concealing waves. Millions of waves, all looking pretty much alike, sometimes murderous with storms and sometimes smiling as innocently as a duckpond. Sometimes a leaping porpoise will make one wave transiently memorable. And sometimes a periscope will. Millions of waves, and all of them fighting front.

Action in the North Atlantic brings those steel-colored waves, with the steel death hidden in them, before your eyes with a clarity and power no film of combat has had before. What the much-touted *In Which We Serve* so dismally failed to do with its incoherent sea battles, *Action* achieves; and much more, for it celebrates not only the recognized heroes of the Navy but also the unrecognized and often slandered heroes of the National Maritime Union. They carry the oil to the battle fronts, in a helpless and unarmed tanker; they are torpedoed, and the submarine rams their lifeboats. They sink in the icy water, starve and freeze on a raft, come home at last—many of them on stretchers. When they're on their feet again, they go round to the union hall and sign up for another voyage. Fighting the sea by herself was always thought a strong man's job, and these men fight both the Nazis and the sea.

The crew and officers of the *S.S. Seawitch*, a liberty ship carrying munitions to Murmansk, are the heroes of *Action in the North Atlantic*. Rescued from their raft, they have a little time to relax. The quiet captain goes home to his wife, eats his dinner in a safe kitchen, lies down to sleep on a clean bed in a cool safe room, with his dog dreaming at peace on the floor beside him. The mate falls swiftly in love and marries. The crew amuse themselves at poker in the union hall, waiting for a new ship; one, whose wife is expecting a child, shocks the others by wanting a safe job. Here, in a swift exchange of words between two seamen, the whole meaning of the war is summed up, and the little fellow who wants security for himself is shown why he cannot have it without fighting for a secure world. When men are wanted for the *Seawitch*, he signs up with the others.

Then the long, grueling voyage to Murmansk, first with a convoy and some protection, then separated from the convoy with a dogged Nazi submarine following. The men spend their days watching those continuous and unrevealing waves, wrestling with the engines, desperately groping through fog where to lose the convoy formation means collision and death in mangling explosions. Through the endless nights they feel the submarines come closer. Their meals and their dreams are broken by the noise of enemy planes. They are struck and crippled, and they strike back desperately, ramming the submarine and blasting the planes out of the sky. At the end they come triumphantly into Murmansk in a sunny afternoon, and the Russian girls haul on the ropes and greet them as comrades.

The men are superbly individualized, with their humor, their toughness, and their tenderness. They merrily razz the youthful Navy gun crew assigned them; they worry about a kitten brought aboard and exposed to the dangers of a sea voyage. The reserved captain and the slangy first mate form an arresting study in friendship, the friendship of men very different yet equally admirable. And John Howard Lawson, in writing the magnificent script, has integrated the story of one crew and one ship with the great battle of the whole world. *In Which We Serve*, it will be remembered, blandly ignored the larger issues of the war, turning a destroyer into a tight little float-

First Mate Humphrey Bogart shouts an order. From "Action in the North Atlantic."

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ing universe whose inhabitants existed only for and in the ship. *Action in the North Atlantic* is a welcome contrast, with its pictures of the brotherhood of nations in the convoy, its emphasis on the men's union organization as part of the anti-fascist fight.

To clarity of purpose is added clarity of execution. Battles are hard to film, and most film-makers resort to a vague impressionism to suggest them. That is, they make a blur of noise and glare and swift unrelated flashes of action, hoping to overpower you with the total impact. And you feel you have been through a battle, right enough; but you have no very clear notion of what hit you. *Action in the North Atlantic*, however, achieves the hitherto impossible in its scenes of sea fights. It gives you all the force of battle and all the size, it gives them in human terms instead of with toy models on a toy ocean, and it gives them without confusion.

When the convoy is attacked by a whole fleet of submarines, you follow every step of the battle. When the *S.S. Seawitch* shoots at Nazi planes, you know what every gun and every gunner is doing. You even follow the simultaneous thoughts and actions of the Germans. And here film technique is literally brought to perfection. Throughout extended sequences, the Germans in plane and submarine hold conversations in their native tongue. Yet there is never a moment of obscurity. So dexterously is dialogue welded to action that you know exactly what they are saying even if you can't understand a word. The dialogue adds realism; adds enormously to the emotional power of the acting; supplements and clarifies the camera record. And it is never used as a *substitute* for a meaningful camera record. That, my children, is screen-writing.

Action in the North Atlantic is enhanced by an admirable and workmanlike cast, with the possible exception of Julie Bishop, a pleasant enough torch-singing blonde whose glamour nevertheless contrasts annoyingly with the general sincerity. Sam Levene, Alan Hale, and Ruth Gordon are particularly good in minor roles. Of the acting of Raymond Massey and Humphrey Bogart, as captain and first mate of the *Seawitch*, pages of deserved rhapsody might be written. Suffice it to say that their performances are worthy of the script; it would be hard to think of higher praise.

SIX months ago *This Land Is Mine* might have seemed a great picture. It contains much that is eloquent, much that is honest and intelligent and adult. It is more outspoken and eloquent about fascism *in words*, than most films dare to be even today. We need to be told how Nazis take over, how rich men sometimes persuade themselves to betray the people, how we can find the enemy within our gates. All this the picture talks about; and talks, moreover, in universal terms. It tries to be not only the story of some French village but the potential story of any small town in, say, our own Middle West. And it is, for the most part, well acted.

And yet it seems a little pale, a little stale. This is partly, of course, by comparison with such predecessors as the savagely vigorous *Hangmen Also Die*, whose strength illumines the other film's weakness. It is surprising that Dudley Nichols and Jean Renoir, who have done magnificent film work and who obviously understand the war thoroughly, should in their writing and directing fail to translate their fine concept into convincing film language. At times, indeed, *This Land Is Mine* almost seems to have been mauled about by some third person with a love of shoddy formula.

For the universal theme of the film, its mass struggle, is grotesquely centered on a single girl, in the Hollywood manner of yesteryear. Her brother is the only active underground worker we meet. He fiance is the leading quisling. Her devout and hopeless admirer is the hero, a timid schoolteacher who finds his courage more through love than political understanding; and his mother, jealous of the girl, is the one chosen to betray her brother to the Nazis. The whole underground movement is reduced to a cozy little family affair.

The mechanical formula plot might have been less annoying, however, had it been well carried out. But what are you to say to an underground movement conducted entirely in speechmaking? The quislings make speeches excusing their motives to each other. The Nazi colonel makes speeches explaining the rise of Nazism; he argues a hundred times for one time that he shoots. The schoolmaster, on trial for his life, lectures the courtroom on political economy, and the Nazis obligingly let him finish. He then goes and delivers an equally long lecture to a class of small boys, and when he is dragged out by Nazi soldiers they stop and wait every few steps while he utters some last telling remark. The only two bits of action in the film are our old enemies, the chase of a saboteur across rooftops and the chase of the same saboteur across railroad tracks.

Now everything said in these long speeches is true, and some of it is verbally effective enough, like a good editorial. But none of it is real. Listening is infinitely less significant to the mind than seeing, and *This Land Is Mine* contains nothing to see —only the faces of people talking. *Hangmen Also Die* did not *explain* fascism; it displayed it. *Action on the North Atlantic* has one ten-second speech, where it is logically needed; a speech going into far less profound economic analysis than Charles Laughton's five-minute lectures. But it has the United Nations convoy and the harsh sea-fights, the relentless submarine and the sailing into Murmansk. *This Land Is Mine* only explains; and fascism

Planning for Morale

"DIVERSE our talents may be, but today our interests are one. What unites us today is the issue of whether or not we, and the world we know and work in, are to survive against the world onslaught of fascism. . . . In my opinion the highest function which we in the entertainment industry can perform in this terrible period is to build and sustain morale. . . . And since in the United States the entertainment world functions on a basis of private and individual enterprise, it is we ourselves who must do the coordinating."

This is Lawrence Tibbett addressing the National Conference of the Entertainment Industry for War Activities, which met in New York last week. They were all there, performers and producers, technicians, designers, writers, actors like James Cagney and Frederic March and Ilka Chase, playwrights like Elmer Rice and Rachel Crothers, Hollywood screen writers and officials of the OWI. They came to tell what has been done and to make plans for the future. And there was much to tell. The radio men had a play about Marines in the Pacific; the American Theater Wing had its Lunchtime Follies, presented in war factories, and its study of food rationing—*It's Up To You.* There were reports of huge sums collected for war relief, performances in army camps and even on the fighting fronts, singers entertaining the convalescents in army hospitals, film shorts ranging from battle scenes to Donald Duck on taxation. Some of the work shown was first rate and finished material, some merely hopeful beginnings; but all had enthusiasm, and all concentrated on bringing a courageous understanding of the war to every American. A high spot of the conference was the speech by Gardner Cowles of the OWI, who arraigned the present widespread feeling that the war is as good as won; that we can slow down on production and jaunt around the country on vacations. Without an invasion of Europe, Mr. Cowles made clear, the war can never be won.

AND the entertainment industry made plans, about which we will write more fully next week; plans for expansion and coordination of its work. Here is an answer to those enemies of planned economy who pretend there is something un-American about forethought, as if the American way involved shutting your eyes, holding your nose, and diving blindly on to the hidden rocks. The entertainment industry has accepted its function in this war and is performing it ably, because the entertainment industry has voluntarily embarked upon a program of organization and cooperation.

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waits, smiling politely, for the end of the explanation, so that it can do a little talking of its own. And, oh yes, the quisling shoots himself in a dejected moment, thus automatically solving the problem of quislings. And one gets rather tired of extended close-ups of Mr. Laughton, crumpling his face up like a dish-towel to express violent emotion.

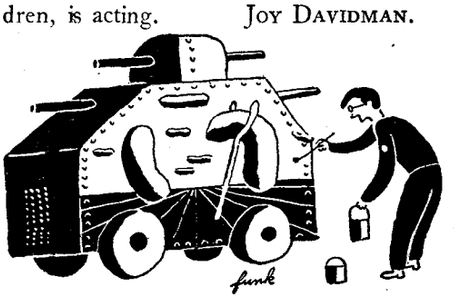
This, children, is *not* screen writing. Good intentions, yes; good arguing, yes. But feeble use of the screen.

"Five Graves to Cairo" has not even the excuse of good intentions. If anything could take the joy and pride out of the Tunisian victory, the explanation offered here would be calculated to do it. It seems Rommel snuck into Egypt thinly disguised as an archeologist, some years back, and buried enough ammunition and fuel for a whole army all along the route to Cairo. . . . The only reason we licked him was that Franchot Tone, equally thinly disguised as a British soldier-disguised-as-a-waiter, snuck into Rommel's headquarters, overheard the Field Marshal boasting of his foresight, and carried the news to Cairo in time. Do you follow this? We don't. It shouldn't even happen to a Nazi Field Marshal.

The vision of a high-ranking Prussian general acting as his own Intelligence and Engineering staff is only matched by the film's other pipe dream; there's a pretty French chambermaid in the hotel taken over by the German army as headquarters. The Nazis haven't seen a woman in months. So what do they do? They PLEAD with her. . . .

Rommel himself comes out of this mess rather better than anyone else, in the expert hands of Erich von Stroheim, who gives the picture its only excuse for being. He has what good lines there are, including one rather nice violation of a bad screen precedent. The heroine, portrayed as a low-grade moron with a pout, rushes into the Field Marshal's bedroom in the early morning to offer her lovely self in exchange for her brother's freedom. And the Field Marshal very sensibly tells her to stop acting like a bad movie. Thanks for that crumb of pleasure, at least.

Something more ought, in justice, to be said for von Stroheim. In a bad picture, in the role of a particularly unpopular enemy, he was able to make an audience of noisy jitterbugs sympathetically and quietly attentive in two minutes. And that, my children, is acting. JOY DAVIDMAN.



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